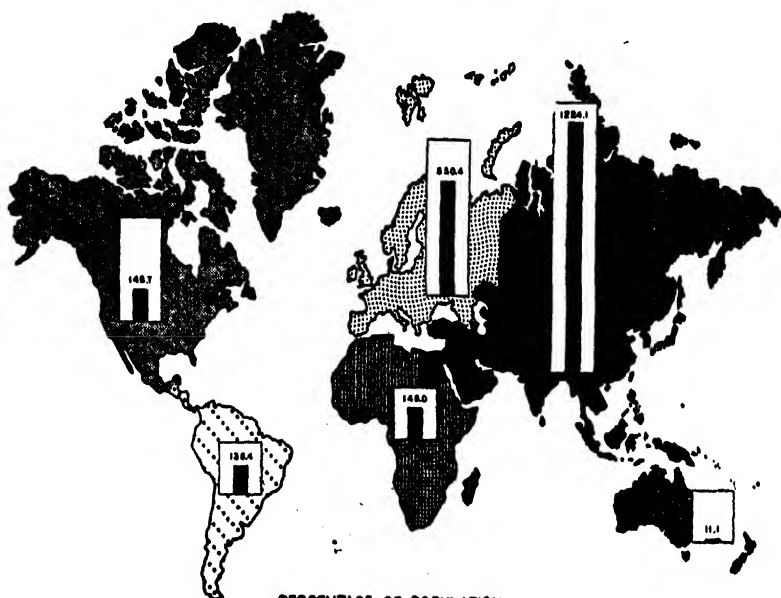
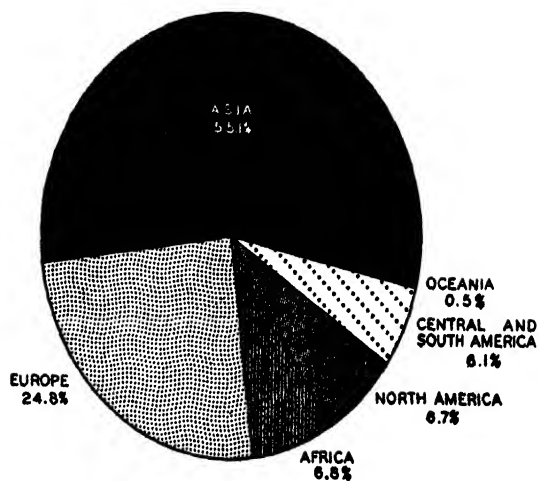


ASIA AND THE WORLD

■ POPULATION IN MILLIONS



PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION



IN THE
MODERN WORLD

BY

H. VENKATASUBBIAH

NEW DELHI

ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

INDIAN COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS

The Indian Council of World Affairs is an unofficial and non-political body founded in 1943 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of Indian and international affairs. The Council, as such, does not express an opinion on any aspect of Indian or international affairs. Any opinions expressed in this book are, therefore, the opinions of the author and not those of the Council.

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WHEN the idea of an Asian Relations Conference took shape, it occurred to us that it would be useful for all concerned to have a ready reference book stating the essential facts concerning Asian countries in relation to the general political and economic development of the rest of the world. The plan of the book is governed by this objective. It starts with a brief account of the place of Asia in history and in the contemporary world ; outlines the systems of government in the Asian countries, and lastly states the main facts regarding population, economic resources, agriculture and industry.

Information concerning Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Outer Mongolia could not be incorporated for lack of authoritative material.

The charts and maps in the book were drawn by the Administrative Intelligence Room, New Delhi. Our grateful thanks are due to Major P. W. R. Homfray, its Director, Mr. C. Biswas, its Assistant Director, and their staff of talented artists. Miss Kamalini Sitaram assisted in preparing the manuscript for the press.

The author has prepared the book in consultation with the other Research Associates of the Conference Secretariat ; and he has made every effort to ensure accuracy in the presentation of facts and statistics. It is, nevertheless, possible that a few errors have crept in ; and we shall be grateful if they are pointed out to us for correction in a later edition.

I may add that any opinions expressed in this book are the opinions of the author and not those of the Indian Council of World Affairs, which is precluded by its rules from expressing an opinion on any aspect of Indian or international affairs.

ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

NEW DELHI

18 March 1947

A. APPADORAI

SECRETARY

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY

1. *Place of Asia in History*

THE Greeks gave the continent of Asia its name. Actually Eurasia is a single continent, but it suited the Hellenic navigators charting the Aegean waters to call the land they saw at sunrise as Asia and the land they sighted at sunset as Europe—from the Greek root words, *asu* and *ereb*, which respectively mean the two phases of the sun. Look at the place of Asia in history. From Egypt and Mesopotamia in the west to China and Japan in the east, millennium after millennium great civilizations have flourished since 5,000 B. C. The outstanding distribution of post-Palaeolithic culture was to be found in Asia. In Mesopotamia they tilled the soil and painted pottery, built monuments and wrote pictures. The Nile Valley was the cradle of systematic social organization. The Sumerians open the flyleaf of recorded history with their paraphernalia of temples and animals, seals, clothing and warfare. The Phoenicians of Palestine and Syria followed with the Bronze Age and the other metals came in quick succession. Troy in Asia Minor brought forth the recognizable Copper Age and Armenia and Transcaucasia the Iron Age. From advanced metallurgy which covered the region of Persia and Russian Turkistan as well, we pass to the Indus civilization in the middle of the third millennium B. C. In China's vast territory were to be found variations of Neolithic culture culminating around 1,400 B. C. in the rich life of the Shang dynasty. Contemporaneously with this flourished a Proto-Neolithic culture in southeast Asia.

Indeed, the distinction which Asia achieved in the post-Palaeolithic period is evident from the fact that in Europe during the same period, apart from deep climatic changes, the only influence on civilization was the culture that the new peoples of Asia and Africa took with their invasions.

The early empires that followed were characterised by vigour and social integrity even as the preceding cultures were conscious to changes in environment. Between 2,100 and 1,200 B. C. the Pharaohs acquired the art of government and diplomacy with the help of a trained bureaucracy, and otherwise evolved a functional society which for long remained the model for succeeding dynasties. Sumer and Akkad during 2,600—2,200 B. C. laid the foundations of a complex economic society with commercial and banking practices, written contracts, weights and measures, legal prices and wages. In Babylon the great Hammurabi gave a code of laws in 2,000 B. C. of the kind of which there was nothing before Rome entered the picture. About 650 B. C. the Assyrian Ashurbanipal started library science with his schematic new editions of Babylonian literature. Earlier—a thousand years—the Hurians and their Indo-Iranian leaders introduced the two-wheeled, horse-drawn transport. In the land of the Jordan Valley the Israelites were perfecting institutional religion during some hundred years (800-4 B. C.) before the Christian era, and in India the Indo-Aryans lived a robust patriarchal society deriving its strength from the objectivity of the Vedic religion. In China of the Chou dynasty, during the same period a landed aristocracy and a peasantry living in agricultural communities were integrated into a leisurely society in which the philosophers found free expression for their contemplative individuality and Confucius not inappropriately stressed clear thinking and self-discipline.

The first five hundred years of the Christian era saw Asia in somewhat of a disintegration as the arts of war and peaceful penetration got into extensive use. But the Sassanians in western Asia, the Guptas in India and the Former and the Later Han in China made substantial contributions to government and administration. Among the gains were the organization of provincial administration, fiscal and judicial reform, and religious toleration.

For Asia at any rate the Middle Ages were not so dark. They began with the founding of Islam in Arabia. Despite much internecine warfare the Caliphate did not neglect the fundamental propositions of the intellect. It was during the reign of Mamun the Great that man's free will was widely asserted and even God was held to be bound by

justice and reason. Baghdad and Bokhara flourished as intellectual centres, and around the first millennium A. D. the Ghaznawids continued to have a flourishing culture. India during the early as well as the later Middle Ages recorded, on the whole and for a full thousand years from Harsha to the Vijayanagar Empire and through the Sultanate of Delhi, the richest period of her history since the Christian era and before the British conquest. In its own special context the progress of China was equally remarkable. It has been said that the central administrative organization which Li Yuan (618-626 A. D.) gave China remained essentially unchanged right till 1912. Historical science was encouraged from encyclopaedias to modest district guides. The brilliant Sung dynasty recognised conscious change and modernized much in social organization, not the least of this effort being the diffusion of knowledge through print. In Japan the nation's genius for successful imitation took root in the early Middle Ages. They made a neat replica of the Chinese administrative system. Between 1,000 and 1,300 A. D. the Japanese moved from this into the age of feudalism which is still of the essence of their civilization. The transition was effected during the Heian and Kamakura periods which also saw the emergence of the new military class and the departmentalization of the central government. It was drastic and laid the pattern for several centuries of subsequent social organization. With the Imperial Restoration following the Mongol invasions came a great fillip to Shintoism in the last two centuries before 1,500 A.D.

The sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were periods of increasing Western contacts for Asia, of a greatly quickened tempo of political activity, and of much empire-building and territorial integration. India under Moghul rule and China under the Manchus were alike examples of such closely packed history. The unification of Japan in the Tokugawa period was even more real. The British contact with India and the Portuguese and Dutch contact with southeast Asia, China and Japan marked the beginnings of what was to be the epoch of economic imperialism in Asia in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century. In the most recent hundred years of Asia's history European power consolidated itself not merely in the British, French and Dutch possessions in the east, but in the middle east and China through what is familiarly described as economic penetration. Wars for concessions and rebellions against them, and treaties of dubious justice and validity became a common feature. Only Japan of the Meiji period halted European penetration and at the same time achieved a remarkable modernization of her social fabric. For the rest of Asia the latest centuries opened wide contacts with the West only to deny the progress to which the West was heir during that age of science and reason.

2. *Asia in the Contemporary World*

The geographic position of Asia has naturally been conducive to contact with other continents by sea and with Europe by land as well. Surrounded on three sides by great, navigable ocean highways Europe and Africa are in easy access to the middle east and India, Oceania to southeast Asia and China, and Japan and China to North and South America. With the purely technical exception of Egypt in the west, Japan in the east, and two or three small countries in the south, the countries of Asia form a chain of land neighbours. However, Asia's contact with Europe, Africa and America developed rapidly with the expansion of modern navigation while inter-Asian contact lagged behind owing to the physical barriers to land movement. The major slice of Asia from the Black Sea to Vladivostock is 3,000 feet above sea level—a feature held by geographers to be unique among continents—and no intensive land communication could be expected before the present arrival of the air age. This situation made two developments possible, both of them unfortunate. Communication with Asia by sea became largely uni-directional because the West came more and more to Asia while Asia could hardly reciprocate as no country of the continent with the exception of Japan was a maritime nation. On the other hand the lack of inter-Asian movement stultified a pooling of Asia's own moral and material resources for the benefit of at least the Asian continent; Asia had to allow itself to be swamped by the West without the compensation of maintaining its own integrity.

In race, mankind inhabiting Asia presents a very wide and deep derivation of ethnic types and admixture. This is only to be expected of so vast an area the countries of which were subjected to such recurring conquest by dissimilar racial groups and the consequent inter-migration. But at the same time when we go by the cranial form or colour groups or hair groups it is possible to emphasise homogeneity, and apparent 'races' like Mongol and Malay would merely be linguistic and cultural groups and not races as such. In either case, however, it is customary to distinguish between derivations of 'primitive' peoples and 'advanced' peoples. Among the primitive survivals in Asia are the Proto-Indics and the Proto-Nordics, the former stock still inhabiting wide areas of Turkistan and the northern islands of Japan, and divisions of the latter

stock still being found in parts of south India, Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago. Among the advanced peoples are the *Nesiots* who are mixed with the Proto-Malays in southeast Asia and southern China ; the *Chersiots* mixed with the tribes of south India ; the Indo-Afghans of northwest India ; the descendants of the Proto-Egyptians in western Asia ; and the great 'Eurasianic' round-headed group distributed extensively in central Asia and India. In terms of modern classification whose basis, as was suggested above, is more cultural than anthropological, the region from the Levant to northwestern India is inhabited by the Iranians and the rest of India by the Indo-Aryans. The peoples of Egypt and Arabia, however, are of Semitic origin and distinct from the Iranians. Turkey, Soviet Central Asia and western Siberia are inhabited by the Turkis, central Siberia and northern China by the Mongols, and eastern Siberia by the Tungus. Tibet, parts of China and southeast Asia up to Penang are southern Mongoloid. The Chinese and the Japanese are called as such in the rest of China and in Japan respectively, and the rest of southeast Asia to the south of Penang is Malay. While the national boundaries in Asia have cut across racial composition, religions have in their turn cut across these racial groups. Among the great religions only Christianity is preponderant outside Asia and all the others prevail and hold sway over wide areas and populations here. In spite of substantial Jewish numbers in Europe and America even Judaism is no exception to this if Palestine is yet going to be the Promised Land that it was in earlier history. Christianity in Asia is at present confined *in bulk* to the Greek and Armenian Christians in parts of Siberia (bordering the northern Animists) and the Catholics in the Philippines. Otherwise, the whole of the Arab world as Muslim ; and Soviet Central Asia, north-western India, Indonesia and small parts of China and Malaya are preponderantly Islamic. The rest of India is predominantly Hindu. Buddhism is the main religion of China (with its outlying areas), Japan and southeast Asia up to Malaya. The Confucians and Shintos are also important religious groups in China and Japan respectively.

The outstanding feature of Asia in the contemporary world is not any deficiency in the excellent character of its races, nor in the maturity, stability and highmindedness of its religions but its political, economic and social backwardness which has succeeded in keeping the finer things in race and religion submerged. Asia is politically backward because the transition from a feudal to a democratic society in some countries, and from foreign rule to national freedom in others, is yet to be accomplished. It is economically backward because all those resources that rapidly make for a higher standard of living under conditions of

modern commercial intercourse are left undeveloped. It is socially backward because political and economic freedom in the widest sense which supply the objective conditions for cultural fulfilment are absent. In its present acute form this backwardness is generally traced to imperialism. Imperialism has been defined as the practice 'whereby one state extends its political or economic power, or both, over another region with or without the consent of the inhabitants thereof'. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the domestic peace that the end of the Franco-Prussian War gave them and the tremendous opulence that a whole century of Industrial Revolution placed at their disposal, the European nations turned to such practice. Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States consolidated their political ownership in some countries of Asia and acquired economic and political control of varying degrees in others. Thus Asia had to get the benefits of the Industrial Revolution not on the basis of free intercourse with those countries but only in so far as such benefits were consistent with their practices in their respective colonies, dependencies and spheres of influence. A lopsided development of Asia was inevitable. As European powers possessing empires in Asia could not possibly have uniform political systems at home, nor could the economic pressure behind their colonial activities be of the same nature and urgency, the political and economic evolution of even contiguous Asian countries with common features and problems became widely divergent. Evidence of this can be seen prominently in the part played by Britain, France, Russia and Turkey in the middle east, by the Dutch, the French and the British in southeast Asia and by the United States, Japan, Britain and Russia in China. In all the three regions the parts were influenced by different powers. There was of course no prior consultation worth the name among the imperial powers interested in a region on the policy or programme to be pursued in it, nor co-ordination at a later stage in the interests of the inhabitants of the area. Imperial collaboration was confined largely to defence at times when the peace of an Asian region seemed to be threatened. Added to the inevitable failure to translate the Industrial Revolution to Asia was the constantly irritating negative factor—the claim that Europe was out on a civilizing mission in the east. This provided the standing justification for whatever pace was set by the imperial nations for Asia's progress. Thus cramped, much that was of consequence in Asian society had to go under in an age of speed and sophistication.

The next important development in Asia's history in the contemporary world was the rise of nationalism. It is strange but true that exploitation of one nation by another demands more intimate contact

between them than honest trusteeship. The spread, however limited, of higher education in countries like India and China, as well as the facilities opened to men from them and the countries of the middle east and southeast Asia to be educated in Europe and America, gave rise to a new generation to whom political democracy seemed a self-evident and universally applicable proposition. Nineteenth century liberalism seemed to exhort the whole mankind and not the people of the imperial powers alone. The nationalist movements of Asia are mainly the determined work of this rising intelligentsia during the past fifty years. Mass parties came to be organized and the lesson of the relation between political freedom and economic development was driven home to the population at large. Besides, the nationalist movements had with them the small, but self-reliant, propertied class which had grown in most countries as a result of the intimate contact in trade and industry that the Western nations had naturally to maintain with their colonies, dependencies and spheres of influence. The economic check in which this class was kept despite its resources for enterprise made it the willing supporter of political nationalism. It was a general league against imperialism. It is difficult to generalize about the changing content of the political demands of Asian countries upon their European rulers or indirect masters from time to time since the beginning of this century. The nature of political movements has varied with the special course of colonial rule and development from the middle east to China and southeast Asia. But broadly speaking, the demand of Asia up to the end of World War I was for a vaguely defined self-government with representative institutions, and nationalist movements seemed to be undecided as to whether some political and economic ties with the European powers were good or bad. But during the inter-war period the sentiment swerved definitely to complete independence involving the ending of Europe's political and economic privilege in Asia. Even the countries of the middle east which were administered under the mandates system outgrew Europe's gratuitous patronage and Egypt rapidly got tired of the Treaty. India was resolved upon full national self-determination and China did not allow any power to impinge upon her political sovereignty in the name of assisting her to hold the Japanese invasion. The whole of southeast Asia was equally determined, if not equally organized and vocal, to shake off non-Asian rule. World War II was the turning point in uniting and crystallizing nationalism throughout Asia in favour of a single principle, viz., the withdrawal of Europe from Asia militarily, politically, economically and in diplomacy, except in so far as might be permitted by mutual agreement. Today Asian nationalism holds that no non-Asian power whether it be of Europe or of America has any 'vital interest' in Asia

that can make its stay here defensible ; ' Asia in parts will not henceforth be interested in answering the non-Asian world in parts '. At the present moment the countries of Asia wish to finalise their nationhood as that term is understood in the science of politics. The most visible expression of this, two years after the end of World War II, is their expressed desire for independent foreign policy untied by any strings to non-Asian diplomacy.

Outside of political freedom the most important problems of Asia have been those arising from the impact of science on society. It was not to be expected that imperialism would make no contribution whatever to material welfare in the colonies, dependencies and spheres of influence. All those recognized ' benefits ' of imperialism, such as the increase, stability and diversification of trade, the introduction of commercial services like banking, insurance and shipping, the development of inland transport, and industrialization including exploitation of mineral resources, meant higher incomes to quite a few sections of the indigenous population. The pace of these was slow, the extent woefully inadequate, and their balance, or rather the lack of it, was dictated not by the needs of the local economy but by those of the foreign powers. Nevertheless, benefit there certainly was. It could not possibly have been totally absent—as the very process of foreign rule and its economic maintenance in Asia involved investment and capital accumulation. Science and scientific technique employed in their enterprise by the ruling classes and concessionaires made these benefits possible, but the social adjustment necessary for the successful assimilation of scientific change did not come about. In fact it has hardly begun in any but a few of the Asian countries. Only Japan and Turkey among them were able to complete the industrial revolution being independent as well as militarily strong. For the Central and East Asian Republics of the Soviet Union the problem did not arise at all, so to say. These territories were the colonies of Russia in all but name, but they were successfully lifted out of a conventional colonialism by the Soviet theory for colonies which did away with the time-lag between their political sovereignty and full economic state planning. But in the rest of Asia the machine revolution was only partial, For, real social progress is to be measured not in terms of the physical equipments that are added on from time to time to a country but in terms of the assimilation of scientific change into the social process. The impact of science in Asia fell in most of the countries on a preponderantly agrarian society. The movement of population from rural to urban areas, large-scale inter-Asian migration, the conditions of health, living and training needed for the new community, and the security of employment and income that extension of industry demanded were all left unreconciled

to the new economic situation. Science and social trends thus failed to converge in Asia. The social policy of Asian countries has had to be primarily concerned not with making regional groups of populations fit for continuous adaptation to the industrial revolution but only with preventing their large-scale extermination by hunger and disease.

Some of the questions that arise by the geographic position of the Asian continent, the past political history of its countries and their present socio-economic conditions are these : Will the countries of Asia rest content with independence and political democracy as ends in themselves or will they move on to social democracy the end of which is a new society that will not recognize privilege based on past political, economic or social tradition ? Will Asia as a continent rest content with the nation-states system or will it proceed to take its rightful place in international government by first organizing itself as a reasonably knit regional unit ? Will Asia on the one hand countenance widely varying social development in its countries and on the other an isolation that will incapacitate it to make a positive contribution to world peace ? It is not in the scope of this book to seek answers to them, but only to provide the essential facts which are necessary alike for the appraisal of the present situation and the formation of judgment for the future. In Part II brief accounts are given of the written constitutions of the various Asian countries, describing the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, the electoral system and local government as set up by their respective statutes. In the case of many countries a short account of their recent political history, and in the case of some the proposals recently made (and now under discussion) for their future constitutional development are also added. Part III gives an account of the basic economic conditions prevailing in the countries of Asia, treated according to certain aspects of economic development like population, raw material and food resources, agriculture and industry. The woeful paucity of statistical material for all but a few of the Asian countries is a commonplace, and, subject to this limitation, an effort has been made to compile relevant and reliable statistics for the various topics covered in the last part. A number of maps and charts have also been included to bring certain facts into ready and bolder relief. This scope of the book does not, of course, claim any comprehensiveness. It is, nevertheless, hoped that the background-information given in the book will supply the needed perspective for thinking out the solutions as well as the problems of Asia today. To help in this, the facts and figures for the economic and social conditions in Asia have been placed, in many aspects where comparison or contrast was possible and instructive, alongside the world data for the corresponding aspects. Asia has been viewed in a number

of details against the world background. In the case of no other region in the world is there now a parallel for the present position of Asia in the contemporary world. It is perhaps a truism to say that Asia's fundamental differences with the European-American community in its history and present stage of development make the evolving of new solutions inevitable; that on this experiment Asia starts without those bellicose power complexes or the inhibitions of defeated prestige that have in the past epochs, and to an extent even in the present, oppressed the non-Asian world powers. And with patience, resource, and strength Asia ought to be able decisively to influence the world towards peace and social justice.

PART TWO

POLITICAL

1. *Soviet Central Asia*

THE Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union are six in number, viz., Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan. Before the famous October Revolution of 1917, these countries, or rather the nationalities that make up the republics of this region at present, were part of the Czarist colonial empire. A year and a half before the Revolution the Czar had completely alienated the support of his colonial peoples by the mobilization he forced upon them to meet the losses which the Germans in 1916 inflicted on his army in East Prussia. The population of the region rebelled and the Kirghiz and Kazak preferred to flee rather than submit to conscription. When the Czar fell in early 1917 it was not certain that Central Asia would get democracy and autonomy. The feudal and commercial elements were not without hope that these colonial peoples had abrogated Czarist tutelage to give them a chance to rule instead of to the Bolsheviks. The turning point in the political history of these countries, and the beginning of their constitutional development, is the Declaration of the Right of Self-Determination which Lenin issued on the seizure of formal power in November, 1917 and in the name of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets which was the first constitutional body of *Soviet* Russia. This Declaration embodied four points that were henceforth to guide the destinies of the Central Asian peoples. These were: (i) the equality and sovereignty

of the peoples of Soviet Russia ; (ii) the right of the peoples of Soviet Russia to self-determination, including the right of secession and formation of independent states ; (iii) the abolition of privileges and disabilities arising from nationality and religion ; and (iv) the free development of national minorities and ethnographical groups inhabiting the territories of Soviet Russia. This forthright recognition of not merely individual rights but also the rights of groups of peoples within the country had a positive effect on their allegiance to the young Soviet republic. With an unqualified recognition of their autonomy it was possible for the makers of the Russian revolution to work up the nationalism of Soviet Central Asia into social democracy.

Under Article 13 of the Constitution (called the Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (also referred to as the ' Stalin Constitution ') of 1936, there are 16 Soviet Socialist Republics comprising the Union, having equal rights, including the right of secession. Among the 16 are the 6 Central Asian Republics. The Azerbaijan Republic was to begin with a part of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Republic formed in 1922 which was one of the Union Republics of the original U.S.S.R. The Transcaucasian Federation was dissolved in 1936 when Azerbaijan by its express wish became a Union Republic itself. The Turkmen and Uzbek Republics were newly formed in 1925 as constituent parts of the U.S.S.R. The Union Republic of Tadjikistan was born in 1929, and in 1936 the Kazakh and Kirghiz Republics which were till then part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic became direct constituents of the U.S.S.R. Within each of these Union Republics there are sub-units variously called (i) Autonomous Republics, (ii) Autonomous Regions, and (iii) National Regions or Areas. It is possible that a Union Republic (one of the total 16) might contain a number of any one of these types of units or a combination of two or more types. Thus, under Article 24, the Azerbaijan S.S.R. includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous S.S.R. and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Under Article 26, the Uzbek S.S.R. consists of the Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Ferghana and Khorezm Regions, and the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous S.S.R. Under Article 27, the Tadjik S.S.R. consists of the Garm, Kulyab, Leninabad and Stalinabad Regions, and the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. The Kazakh S.S.R. (Article 28) consists of fourteen Regions, the Turkmen S.S.R. (Article 29-a) and the Kirghiz S.S.R. (Article 29-b) of five Regions each.

Not only have the six Union Republics which are direct constituents of the U.S.S.R. their Supreme Soviets (Councils), but each political

unit coming under the three categories mentioned above has its own independent Soviet which legislates for its respective areas. In the lower rungs of the federal structure, however, i.e., in the 'Regions,' 'Territories' and 'Areas'—legislation is of the delegated and administrative variety as understood in the Western parliamentary democracies. Article 14 of the Constitution lists 23 subjects over which the all-Union federal centre has jurisdiction, and outside of this provision each Union Republic exercises independent state authority. These subjects can be broadly divided into foreign affairs, national defence and economic and social planning. In February 1944 the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. extended to the constituent republics a greater degree of autonomy in foreign affairs. By this it was expected that the all-Union Supreme Soviet would refer back to Union Republics matters of foreign policy involving treaties, war and peace before ratification. This measure also implied separate diplomatic representation to the constituent Republics. Though the sovereignty and administrative autonomy of the Union Republics are recognised, constitutional and legislative homogeneity as well as a strict execution of federal laws is sought to be ensured by the stipulation that the constitutions of Union Republics be 'drawn up in full conformity with the constitution of the U.S.S.R.' (Article 16) and that 'in the event of a discrepancy between a law of a Union Republic and an all-Union law, the all-Union law prevails' (Article 20). Similar homogeneity as between the laws of a Union Republic and those of Autonomous Republics or Regions which constitute it is ensured by the provision of Article 82 that 'the Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of People's Commissars of Autonomous Republics, and to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions and Autonomous Regions.'

The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years (Article 57). The Government of the Republic is appointed by it and is answerable to it. When the Soviet is not in session it is accountable to the Presidium of the Soviet. The Commissars of the Government are more than 20 in number and hold portfolios for the various industries and agriculture, transport, health, justice, internal security, education and local government. The legislative and administrative machinery of the Autonomous Republics of these Unions is modelled similarly. The Autonomous regions, areas, districts, cities and rural localities elect their Soviets from among their working people for a term of two years, and they 'adopt decisions and issue orders' in conformity with the Union Republic and U. S. S. R.

laws (Article 98). The executive of these political units is a committee elected by the deputies.

Any citizen over the age of eighteen can elect or be elected to any Soviet in the whole of the U. S. S. R. Voting is by secret ballot and candidates must poll more than half the total votes of the constituency to be declared elected. They are 'liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors'. The Union Republics have representation in the supreme federal centre through the Soviet of Nationalities which is one of its two chambers. As to this body the number of deputies returnable is on the basis of 25 for each Union Republic, 11 for each Autonomous Republic, 5 for each Autonomous Region and 1 for each National Area, the total representation that any Union Republic will get will depend upon the number and category of the lesser political units of which it is constituted.

The judiciary of the U. S. S. R. is as wide a network as its legislature and executive. Each political unit from the Union Republic downward has its own courts. The Union Republics and the Autonomous Republics that constitute them have Supreme Courts and the others ordinary courts. The judges of all these courts are elected for a period of 5 years by the respective Soviets of the political units. The judges of the district courts are elected for three years. The Supreme Court has supervisory authority in administration over the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics as well as all other lesser courts. Trial is by assessors, public, and with right of defence to the accused. The execution of law is vested in the Procurator of the U. S. S. R.—an appointment of the all-Union centre—who in turn appoints the procurators of all the other units including the Union Republics. All these procurators are answerable only to the central Procurator and perform their duties independently of local authority.

2. *Turkey*

Of all the countries of Asia Turkey enjoys the enviable position of being both an Asian and a European power. In political and economic development, in power politics and in ways of life she is Western, but her people are essentially Asian. Situated on the threshold between

two continents Turkey cannot merge herself completely with either of them to the exclusion of the other. However, she is the most European of all Asian powers and since her regeneration in 1921 did not have much to do with the rest of Asia. In one sense Turkey could afford this till now. The full implication of her middle-of-continent position could not make itself felt so long as Asia remained backward in historical development. But when in the coming years the countries of Asia level up with Turkey in full statehood and social development, Turkey will naturally play an increasing role as an Asian power as well.

The basis of constitutional development in Turkey is the 'Law of the Fundamental Organization' adopted in 1921 by the Grand National Assembly which had been constituted the previous year at Angora (now Ankara) under the guidance of Mustafa Kemal from the remnants of the Nationalist Party which the Allied powers had outlawed at Constantinople following their fiat dissolving the then existing Assembly. In its 23 Articles this Fundamental Law declared the sovereignty of the people and combined the executive and legislative powers in the Grand National Assembly. The Assembly was to hold tenure for a period of two years. It elected a cabinet of ministers who were individually responsible to and removable by it. There was no second chamber.

The present Constitution of the Republic of Turkey was adopted in 1924. Turkey had been declared a republic in 1923 and the Caliphate had been abolished a month before the new Constitution became law. The Turkish Constitution is unitary and is perhaps unique in its inclusion in the statute itself of the general concepts of political science to which most democratic constitutions give expression in their spirit but which few incorporate in writing. Thus, it starts by declaring that the Republic is based on nationalism, democracy, evolutionism, laicism (separation of state and religion) and 'etatism' which means the state ownership or control of certain means of production and economic services. This was the amendment introduced in 1937 to Article 1. Even in the 1924 constitution the legislature remained unicameral consisting only of the Assembly. It has 455 members and is elected for a period of 4 years. Under Article 15 legislation can be initiated by the Assembly as well as the Cabinet. Procedure is parliamentary. While the tendency in Western democracies is towards more and more of delegated legislation and administrative law, the Turkish Constitution gives expression to an opposite tendency of adding more and more executive and judicial functions to the legislature. Article 26 which was amended in 1928 assigns, for example, the 'duty' of interpreting laws to the Assembly itself while

in modern democracies generally this is the privilege of the judiciary and the legislature can only repeal or amend laws in case the judicial pronouncement on their validity is adverse.

The chief executive of the Republic is the President who is elected from among the deputies for a parliamentary term and is eligible for re-election. Over legislation that does not concern either the constitution act or the budget he exercises a suspensive veto analogous to that of the American Presidency. Bills referred by the President back to the Assembly become law on being re-passed by that body. The President appoints the Prime Minister who in turn chooses the other ministers. The ministers are no doubt responsible to the Assembly but there was hitherto no party government. The Assembly consisted of a single party, viz., the Republican People's Party founded by Mustafa Kemal. Therefore when a cabinet was censured by the Assembly the vote would express 'no-confidence' in the competence of the ministers as individuals and not reject any principles for which all deputies are supposed to be owing the same allegiance, although Article 44 guardedly stipulates that a new Government should present its *programme* to the Assembly and obtain a vote of confidence. But early in 1946 the formation of a new Democratic Party was announced. The Party contested the general elections held in July of the same year and emerged as the second biggest party in the Assembly, though its strength is barely 15 per cent of the total strength of the Assembly. The People's Party, of course, continues to be the biggest and is the Government.

Local government is carried on through 63 divisions of the country called *vilayets* which are autonomous in local affairs. But centralization is ensured by the central government appointing a representative (*vali*) as head of each *vilayet*. The *vali* is assisted by an elective council.

By amendments introduced in 1934 all men and women over the age of 22 can vote in elections central and local, and anyone over the age of 30 is eligible to be elected a deputy.

The judicial codes of Turkey are largely modelled after those of continental European countries. The judicial system comprises the local lower courts with limited civil and criminal jurisdiction and the assize courts for criminal sessions. The appellate court is the Court of Cassation sitting in the capital. There is also an elective High Court to try members of the executive and the judiciary.

3. *The Monarchies of Western Asia*

The important monarchies of western Asia are four, viz., Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. Iraq and Transjordan are also monarchies but do not rank with the others in importance as their recent political development is not so much a study of their monarchies as of the mandates system. No one who is acquainted with Egypt's stormy politics during the past twenty-five years and the part played by Kings Faud and Farouk in them, with the personality of King Reza Shah Pahlevi as a maker of modern Iran, with the chequered careers of Kings Amanullah and Nadir Shah in Afghanistan, and with the part of King Ibn Saud in Arab politics, can fail to be impressed by the magnitude of monarchy as an institution in the political and constitutional development of western Asian countries. Maybe, the role of monarchy here has been and is being continually reinterpreted from time to time in the context of changing relations with the European powers that have so largely dominated the region hitherto, but the impress left by ruling houses on the politics of the respective countries has substantially moulded the effectiveness or otherwise of their constitutionalism. Despite its own vicissitudes and rapid and revolutionary changes in political philosophy outside, monarchy still appears to be of the essence of western Asia's body politic.

EGYPT

Though Egypt is geographically part of the African continent its population wholly belongs to the Asian community. Its people are part of the Arab world and have nothing in common either with the indigenous races or the whites in the rest of Africa. The present constitution of Egypt dates back to 1923. It followed the British Government's Declaration of 1922 terminating the protectorate over Egypt, but continuing to reserve absolutely to itself the defence of the country, the security of empire communications through it, the protection of foreign interests and minorities in it, and the Sudan. Egypt was formally declared independent but was far from sovereign under these reservations. The constitution of independent Egypt was drawn up by experts at the instance of King Faud and, together with the Electoral Law, was adopted in 1923.

During the course of Egypt's subsequent troublous history the Constitution was suspended in 1928, replaced by another in 1930, and restored in 1936.

The Constitution declares Egypt a sovereign State with a hereditary monarchy. The King is the chief executive and the Constitution is administered in his name. He has all the prerogatives, such as promulgation of laws, summoning and dissolving parliament, declaration of war, making of treaties etc., that are generally assigned to the sovereign in a constitutional monarchy like England, and under Article 48 he is to exercise his powers through his ministers. But these prerogatives have in practice been more real in his case. Important riders have no doubt been added to Articles of the Constitution which deal with the dissolution of parliament and cabinet responsibility, but these have *not* meant reduction of his prerogatives to a formality. In foreign policy, however, he may not make any contracts which do not have the approval of parliament and, emergency legislation decreed by him will cease to be law if parliament fails to ratify it subsequently. He has also a suspensive veto on parliamentary Bills before signing them into Acts.

The Egyptian legislature is bicameral, consisting of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Representation in the Senate is on a population basis at one senator to every 180,000 inhabitants. The total number comes to about 150. The King nominates two-fifths of the strength of a Senate from time to time as well as its president. The senators are elected for a period of ten years, half the number retiring by rotation every five years. But the Senate itself has no tenure of *session* beyond that of the Chamber. Whenever the lower house is dissolved the Senate is automatically suspended. Its composition is rather typical of a feudal and aristocratic society. Those eligible for election are princes, clergymen, diplomats, judges, land-owners and suchlike functionaries. In spite of this, however, members of the Senate get elected on the party ticket and actually the popular parties have had a majority in the past. The Chamber of Deputies is also elected on a population basis at one deputy for every 60,000 inhabitants, and the normal span of life of the Chamber is 5 years. Its president is elected. Procedure is parliamentary. There is a committee system for consideration of Bills.

The executive is the Council of Ministers responsible to the lower house. The ministers are ordinarily between 12 and 15 in number. They can answer questions in both houses.

Local government is carried on by provincial and municipal councils. There are 14 provinces each divided into a number of districts. The

provincial councils consist of two representatives from each district within its area, but the presiding authority is appointed by the central government. They are also subordinate to the central government inasfar as the latter have complete power to set aside any decision of the former.

Election to both houses of parliament is indirect, groups of 30 electors nominating one delegate and the delegates electing the deputies and senators.

The judiciary in Egypt is evolved to perform a complex set of functions owing to lack of sovereign legal jurisdiction over foreign nationals. In addition to the National Courts and the Courts of personal status which administer the ordinary law of the land, Mixed Courts have been constituted, one of which is a Court of Appeal. The judges of these courts are both Egyptian and foreign selected in a certain proportion by the Egyptian Government. They try cases in which the parties are foreigners of the same nationality, foreigners of different nationalities or Egyptians and foreigners. Its authority is final inasfar as in the case of a dispute between a Mixed Court and a National Court over jurisdiction the former's judgment prevails.

IRAN

Iran's present constitution was originally drafted by an elected National Assembly, though the representatives in it were drawn from dignitaries of the church and state and the land-owning and merchant classes. It was convoked in 1906 and it passed the Electoral Law and the Fundamental Law of the Constitution the same year. For well over fifteen years after that Persian monarchs seemed to be undecided whether to be constitutional or not, when in 1925 the insurgent Prime Minister Reza Khan got the throne from the National Consultative Assembly and crowned himself Shah as the head of State under the original Constitution of 1906 and the Supplementary Constitution of 1907, two Articles of which were modified at the time of the coronation. The Supplementary Constitution of 1907 is the more important of the two statutes and though it does not repeal its predecessor of 1906, is really a consolidating Act in addition to being supplementary to the other. The Law of 1906 is concerned mostly with the two houses of legislature, while the Law of 1907 details the general principles, the rights of the Iranian peoples, the powers of the State, the rights of members of the two assemblies, the rights of the kingdom of Iran,¹ the executive,

the judiciary, the army, local government and finance. Islam is the official religion.

The Constitution assigns the usual prerogatives to the King as head of State, which he is to exercise on the advice of his ministers who are responsible to the legislature. Article 28 declares that the legislative, judicial and executive powers shall always remain separate from one another. Under Article 27 not only the legislature but also the King can initiate legislation. The Constitution provides for a bicameral legislature though the upper house has rarely met. The lower house is the Assembly. It has 136 members and its tenure is 2 years. Its sovereignty in political, economic and financial matters is recalled in various Articles of the Constitution. No officer of a state department can be a member of the Assembly. The presence of two-thirds of the members is required for polling votes after debates. The Assembly can petition the King directly through a commission of six deputies with the president at its head. There is a committee system for considering Bills. The Senate is composed of 60 members with half of them elected and the other half nominated. The Senate can also initiate legislation but has no power over money bills. In case of disagreement between them over any measure an assembly of both houses elected in equal numbers from both will make a recommendation to the Assembly. The King reserves the right to accept or reject the verdict of the Assembly on this recommendation.

The executive is the cabinet consisting of the Prime Minister and, ordinarily, 12 other ministers. They are responsible to both the houses of legislature jointly as well as individually, but are appointed by the King and are dismissible by him. The ministers may not invoke written or verbal orders of the King in order to escape responsibility.

There are provincial and county councils for local administration elected directly by the inhabitants of the respective areas. Subject to the control of the Ministry of the Interior these councils can put through needed reforms in the public interest. In 1938 the provincial boundaries were redrawn and the country divided into 10 provinces, each under a Governor-General, and 49 counties, each under a Governor.

All male citizens above 21 years of age are eligible to vote for the Assembly by secret ballot.

The judicial system of Iran is based on statutory provisions in the Constitution. There are the Summary Courts, the County Courts and

the Appellate Courts which are provincial. There is also a Supreme Court.

AFGHANISTAN

The Constitution of Afghanistan is comparatively recent. It was drawn up and adopted in 1931 following King Nadir Shah's Royal Charter of 1929 which he issued shortly after he captured power and was elected to the throne. The Constitution was framed with reference to the Charter. The latter indicated that there should be a parliament and a cabinet form of government in Afghanistan. Accordingly the Organic Law of 1931, as the Afghan Constitution is called, established a constitutional monarchy in Afghanistan. Some new clauses were added to the Organic Law in 1933.

The King is the head of State. The throne is hereditary but it has been transferred to the house of Nadir Shah subject to the proviso that 'the succession to the throne will be in accordance with the selection of His Majesty and the people of Afghanistan'. While ascending the throne he is required to make a declaration before his parliament that he will preserve the independence of the country and the rights of the nation. He enjoys the usual regal prerogatives consistently with the powers of the legislature.

The Afghan legislature is bicameral. The National Assembly which is the lower house is composed of 120 members elected on a population basis at one for every 10,000 inhabitants and from single member constituencies. Government servants cannot be members of the Assembly. Officers and men of the army and police force are likewise ineligible. The normal life of an Assembly is 3 years. It has an elected president. When the Assembly is in recess the King can enact emergency legislation but it will be valid only if the Assembly ratifies it subsequently. The Assembly has sovereign legislative powers. As in the case of the Iranian constitution, the Assembly can petition the King direct through a deputation of its members. There is a committee system for the consideration of Bills.

The Afghan upper house, called the House of Nobles, is an entirely nominated body with 45 members in it. Bills passed by the Assembly need not go to the Nobles if they are not in session at the time, and become law on being presented to the King for signature direct. But a Bill initiated and passed in the upper house but not approved by the Assembly

goes—as in the case of the Iranian constitution again—to a joint committee of the two houses for recommendation, and the King reserves action on the Assembly's verdict on this recommendation.

The executive consists of the Prime Minister and the other ministers, ordinarily about 12 in number. The presidents of the Assembly and the Nobles are also members of the cabinet. The Prime Minister is appointed by the King and the other ministers are selected by the Premier. The ministers are individually and collectively responsible to the legislature. The cabinet initiates legislation.

Local administration is carried on through the 5 major provinces and the 4 minor provinces which are under Governors and Chief Administrators respectively. They are appointed by the central government and are assisted by local advisory councils which are elected bodies. There are district and municipal councils as well. Mayoral elections are subject to approval by the provincial government.

The franchise is the same for both national and local elections. All Afghan subjects over the age of 20 are eligible to vote. There is no disqualification based on property.

Article 88 of the Organic Law guarantees the independence of the Afghan judiciary. The hierarchy of the system is the same as obtains in any unitary constitution. Each district has courts in all its prefectures. The appellate courts are in provincial headquarters and the Supreme Court sits in Kabul.

SAUDI ARABIA

Saudi Arabia was united as a single kingdom under Ibn Saud in 1927. Two years before, Ibn Saud had been only Sultan of Nejd, but by defeating King Hussein of Hejaz late in 1925, proclaimed himself 'King of the Hejaz and of Nejd and its Dependencies' early in 1927. In the same year, by a treaty, Great Britain recognized the independence of this territory under Ibn Saud. The formal unification of these dominions under the name 'Saudi Arabia' was decreed in 1932.

The Hejaz Constitution which is now the constitution of Saudi Arabia was drawn up in 1926 and amended in 1928. All power and

administration are practically centralised in the King. There is an Agent-General appointed by the King and responsible to him, who is in charge of the day-to-day administration of the kingdom. There is a Council of Ministers to assist the Agent-General and of which he is also the president. The Agency-General is neither an elective office nor non-official. The King's son is himself the Agent-General. The Council has generally about five members, each in charge of a department. The main departments are law, interior, foreign affairs, military, education and finance. The president of the Legislative Assembly is also a member of the Council. Under Article 19 the legal and political sections of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are directly under the Crown and only the administrative and consular sections are managed by the Minister. Even this does not mean much as the foreign affairs portfolio is generally in the hands of the Agent-General who is himself of the royal household. The military portfolio is also reserved for the King.

The amendment introduced to the Constitution in 1928 gave Arabia a Legislative Assembly. This is a purely advisory body. It has 14 members elected on a regional basis, but not all regions are represented. The people of Mecca send the largest single contingent. The life of each Assembly is 2 years but it is liable to be dissolved or its composition changed by the King at any time. The Assembly discusses the budget, economic development including foreign concessions, various laws and certain other administrative matters like the employment of foreigners in Saudi Arabian service. There is a committee system despite the Assembly's small strength. The King reserves the right either to accept or to reject any measure passed by the Assembly.

Local government is carried on through provincial governors. The Hejaz is directly administered by the Viceroy and is divided into 19 divisions. The rest of the country is divided into 6 provinces, each divided into several divisions called *Amirates*. Five towns have municipalities. There is, however, no local autonomy. The decisions of municipal and district councils must all pass through the proper channels to the King and become law only on receiving his assent under Article 40 of the Constitution. Besides, the local councils are all nominated bodies. A person seeking election to the Legislative Assembly should be over 25 years of age and those seeking nomination to the local councils over 30 years of age.

The judiciary is based on religious law. The judges come under a Chief Justice who in his turn is under the Ministry of Justice.

4. *The Former Mandates of Western Asia*

Five countries of western Asia came under the Mandates System of the League of Nations after World War I. They are Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. All these were Class 'A' mandates according to Article XXII-4 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which recognized them as having 'reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone'. Much of the territory comprising these countries was before the war part of the Ottoman Empire. Modern Iraq was then Mesopotamia and the largest single slice of such territory. It was one of President Wilson's fourteen points that these countries should be assured of 'absolutely unmolested development'. France was the mandatory power for Syria and Lebanon, and Great Britain for the rest. The mandate for Iraq was terminated in 1932, for Syria and Lebanon in 1941, and for Transjordan in 1946. Palestine continues to be a British mandate and its future status is at the moment the subject of negotiations. Iraq and Transjordan are monarchies while Syria and Lebanon are republics. The political evolution of these countries during the past quarter of a century is largely the result of what the mandates system meant to them and the treaties in which it ended up. The enthronement, for example, of King Feisal as King of Iraq by a plebiscite in 1921, the Allied declaration of Syrian and Lebanese independence only after the start of World War II and the present proposals for the future governance of Palestine inevitably followed the circumstances in which the mandates have had to be administered, thrust as they were into hands which had no interest in them except as areas of strategic military advantage in case of conflict. In the case of all of these countries foreign influence in their constitutional pattern and evolution has been more direct than in the other countries of western Asia.

IRAQ

The Constitution of Iraq was drafted in 1922 and owes its origin to the British Government's statement of policy shortly after assuming

the mandate in 1920 which expressed the desire that an organic law should be framed for the governance of the country in consultation with the people. The draft mandate which was promulgated in 1921 and the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of the following year which was concluded because the mandatory power thought its obligations under the mandate could be better discharged that way, both incorporated the obligation to evolve a law for the constitutional government of the country. Accordingly the Constitution of 1922 was drawn up primarily by departmental work both in England and Iraq. A specially elected Constituent Assembly adopted it finally in 1924 and together with the Electoral Law it came into force in 1925. On the termination of the mandate Iraq became a sovereign State in 1932.

The Constitution prescribes a hereditary and constitutional monarchy in Iraq. Subject to the sovereignty of the legislature the King enjoys the usual prerogatives, but in his case—as in that of other monarchs in western Asia—they have been many times very real, as well as convenient media for the mandatory power's policies. In an emergency he can issue ordinances with the concurrence of his Council of Ministers and subject to the ratification of parliament. He has also a suspensive veto on parliamentary legislation.

The Iraqi legislature is bicameral. Only the lower house—the Chamber of Deputies—is an elected body. The election is on a population basis at one deputy for every 20,000 male members of the population and in single-member constituencies. The total number of deputies is about 120. The normal life of a Chamber is 4 years, but it elects its president for one year only. The Chamber can initiate legislation but not money Bills. Also, it cannot introduce cuts on expenditure arising out of treaty obligations except with the prior approval of the King. The Senate has a maximum of 20 members, all nominated by the King. They are appointed for 8 years, half the number retiring by rotation every 4 years, but eligible for re-nomination. The president of the Senate is, however, elected for one year from among its members. The Senate cannot initiate legislation, but it must pass the Bills that come up from the Chamber for them to be presented to the King's signature.

The executive is the Council of Ministers consisting of the Prime Minister and five to eight other ministers. They are drawn from either house of the legislature and they are jointly and severally responsible to it. A minister can speak in both houses, but vote in only that of which he is a member.

Local government is carried on through the 14 districts into which the country is divided and is centralised under the Ministry of the Interior. Even in municipal government the mayors are appointed by the centre and the municipal budgets approved by it.

The minimum age for a person to be eligible for election as a deputy is 30 and for nomination as senator, 40. Relatives of the King are ineligible for election or for nomination to the legislature. Under Article 30 individuals who have commercial and trading relations with a government department are also ineligible. Under Articles 36 and 37 the non-Islamic minorities enjoy reservation of seats in the lower house. Election is by secret ballot.

The judicial administration of Iraq is in the hands of a Committee of Justice constituted in 1929 under the Ministry of Justice. The President of the Court of Cassation—the Chief Justice of Iraq—is chairman of this Committee. The Court of Cassation at Baghdad is the supreme appellate court on both the civil and criminal sides. Next come the first instance courts which normally have civil jurisdiction but go into sessions when having to try criminal committals from the magistrate's courts. Next are the civil judge's courts and the magistrate's courts. Lastly, there are religious courts to hear matters of personal status of Muslims and of *Wakfs*.

Under the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1931 Britain undertook to defend Iraq against external aggression, and she maintains a military force in the country.

TRANSJORDAN

Britain assumed the mandate for Transjordan in 1920 and placed Amir Abdullah on the throne in 1921. In 1923 the mandatory power made a declaration that it intended to set up a constitutional monarchy in Transjordan and in 1928 the two powers signed a treaty, Article 11 of which provided for the summoning of a National Assembly to accept the treaty and frame a constitution. The treaty was approved by the Assembly and ratified in 1929. The Organic Law that was adopted provides for a small single-chamber legislature—the Legislative Council—and an Executive Council to advise the King who is both the executive and legislative head. The Legislative Council has 16 members in it elected by indirect suffrage, and includes the members of the Executive Council in addition.

The mandate for Transjordan was terminated in 1946 and the country declared a sovereign State. This was followed by a new Anglo-Transjordan treaty which is drawn up on the same lines as the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. Under Articles 4 and 5 of the new treaty Britain assumes responsibility for the protection of Transjordan from external aggression within the provisions of the United Nations Charter, and maintains a military force in the country.

SYRIA AND LEBANON

Twenty years of French mandate over Syria and Lebanon, from 1921 to 1941, constitute easily the most unfortunate example of the mandates system. The French assumed the mandate in 1920 after expelling King Feisal who had become ruler of an independent Syria before the San Remo Conference in 1920 could allot the various mandates among the Allies. Under the terms of the mandate the mandatory power was charged with the duty of framing an organic law for the two countries within three years. But from the outset the French encouraged separatist tendencies and before 1922 had set up as many as six autonomous regimes. A partial federation was formed in 1922 but had to be dissolved in 1924 as it did not work satisfactorily. From 1925 onwards four political units remained. Between 1925 and 1928 there were widespread revolts in the country which had to be suppressed with reinforcements of the French army. Political developments continued to be unstable till the outbreak of World War II and even involved the French High Commissioner suspending the Syrian Chamber in 1934 on its failure to ratify a treaty that had been proposed. A proposal to further divide Syria into autonomous provinces caused a revolt again in 1936 and in December of the same year France was compelled to make treaties with both Syria and Lebanon on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1931. When France capitulated in 1940 during World War II Syria and Lebanon continued to remain under Vichy France. But as the latter's neutrality in these mandates to the Axis Powers became increasingly doubtful, British and Free French forces occupied them in June 1941. Following the occupation a proclamation was issued declaring Syria and Lebanon sovereign and independent. However, constitutional government which had become nebulous during the occupation could be restored only in 1943. But this did not mean an automatic transfer of power from the occupying administration to the indigenous governments. So the Syrian and Lebanese parliaments asserted their sovereignty, repudiated the mandate, and unilaterally

expunged from their statutes all those clauses that were repugnant to the former and recognized the latter. Finally in December 1943 Free France negotiated separate agreements with both the countries as a consequence of which during the course of 1944 all the powers except control over the French 'special troops' were made over to the respective governments. After further protracted negotiations which involved some military action by France in the two countries in May 1945, the 'special troops' were also transferred to their respective governments in August of the same year. Besides, in pursuance of an Anglo-French agreement, Allied troops in the two countries were completely withdrawn by the end of 1946.

In the above circumstances the constitutional development of these countries could not but be so utterly confusing as it actually was. Not only were there as many as six separate constitutions and a federal constitution at one time, but the most sweeping changes used to be put through at every turn of the political tide. The first constitution of Syria was decreed in 1924. This provided for an elected Representative Council, an elected President and a Ministry appointed by him. But of course every legislative and administrative act of these organs required to be ratified by the High Commissioner. The election to the council was on the basis of an Electoral Law adopted in 1922. This provided for communal electorates. With the same electoral system a National Constituent Assembly was convoked in 1928 which drew up the present republican Constitution of Syria. This provided for a unicameral legislature—the Chamber of Deputies. The strength of the Chamber is now 124. There is representation in it for a number of minorities and election is indirect. The Cabinet is responsible to the legislature and ordinarily consists of about 7 ministers in addition to the Prime Minister. The Chamber elects the President of the Republic for a period of 5 years. He is the chief executive of the nation and has wide powers subject to the sovereignty of parliament. The Constitution as it emerged from the Constituent Assembly had 115 Articles to which the mandatory power added Article 116 which secured the due discharge by it of its obligations under the mandate. In 1944 the newly elected Syrian Chamber indirectly expunged this Article from the Constitution by taking an oath of allegiance to Articles 1-115 only.

Lebanon's constitution was first promulgated by the French authorities in 1926. It recognized Lebanon as a separate and independent State but her sovereignty was restricted by the exigencies of the mandate. The legislature was bicameral. The strength of the Senate was 16, made

up of 9 elected and 7 nominated members and the total number distributed community-wise. The Chamber of Deputies was elected on the basis of communal electorates. The legislature as a whole elected the President of the Republic. The High Commissioner reserved the right of annulling any legislation or administrative order. In 1927 this constitution underwent a modification by which the legislature became unicameral with one-third its total number being nominated by the President of the Republic. In 1943 it was again modified and this time the Chamber was made an entirely elected body with a total strength of 55—the Christians to have 30 seats and the Muslims 25. The Chamber elects the President of the Republic. The executive is responsible to the legislature and consists of the Prime Minister and ordinarily about 5 other ministers. Later in 1943 further amendments were effected to 14 Articles of the Constitution and by these the mandate was completely and in all its details repudiated and Lebanon declared a fully sovereign State.

PALESTINE

The British Government assumed the mandate for Palestine in 1920. The terms of the League mandate which were confirmed by the League Council in 1922 imposed three main obligations on the mandatory power. The first and the foremost was the creation of a Jewish 'national home' in Palestine, in terms of the Balfour Declaration of 1917; second, to ensure that measures taken in pursuance of this policy will not militate against other races inhabiting Palestine, i.e., mainly the Arabs; third, to facilitate the growth of self-governing institutions. At various periods during the past twenty-five years several attempts were made to reconcile these three principles, but so far all these have ended in complete failure. Like their co-nationals in Syria and Lebanon, the Arabs of Palestine repudiate the mandate while the Jews on the other hand keep on insisting that the Balfour Declaration still remains unfulfilled. The British Government's White Paper on Palestine issued in 1939 said with regard to constitutional developments that what the Balfour Declaration contemplated was not that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish national home, but that such a home should be founded *in Palestine*. Early in 1946 the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom appointed an 'Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine' and in Recommendation 3 of their Report the Committee wrote that 'in order to dispose, once and for all, of the exclusive claims of Jews and Arabs to Palestine', a statement of policy should be made to the effect

that 'Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state', but one that, under international guarantees, will safeguard Arabs, Jews and Christians alike. In July 1946 the British Government, acting in consultation with the Government of the United States, announced a plan for the setting up in Palestine of an Arab and a Jewish province, both enjoying a large measure of autonomy under a central government which would have exclusive authority as to defence, foreign relations, and customs and excise. This plan is at present the subject of negotiations between the concerned parties.

The first constitution of Palestine was drawn up in 1920 by the then High Commissioner. It established an Advisory Council of 20 members half of whom were non-officials nominated in a communal proportion and the other half official. In 1922 another constitution was promulgated which provided for a Legislative Council of 22 members of whom 10 were officials and 12 non-officials. The latter were elected on a communal electorate and by indirect election. All males over the age of 25 voted in the primary elections and there was a secondary elector for every 200 primary electors. Legislation passed by the Council was subject to a double veto, first by the High Commissioner and next by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. There was an Executive Council appointed by the High Commissioner and advising him in administrative matters. This constitution was shortlived and had to be suspended the following year. The country reverted to an Advisory Council composed wholly of officials with the High Commissioner as the supreme legislative and executive head, and it has remained at that till now, with minor modifications for administrative convenience.

For administrative purposes the country is divided into 6 districts, each in charge of a Commissioner. Since 1926 the Jewish community enjoys a certain measure of autonomy in cultural and communal matters. The community has an elected Assembly to decide local taxation and budget. Its council acts as a liaison between the community and the High Commissioner.

There are 24 elected Municipal Councils. These also enjoy some measure of autonomy in town administration, but their finances are subject to the approval of District Commissioners. Since 1944 Village Councils have been established to exercise municipal and quasi-judicial functions in villages.

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THE ARAB LEAGUE

The countries of western Asia have recently been the first in Asia to build a regional organization to safeguard their common interests. In October 1944 Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Yemen signed a protocol forming a League of Arab States. Palestine not yet being independent is not a member of the League but is represented at its meetings as an 'observer'. The objects of the Arab League are three in the main : (i) to regularly exchange views on the foreign affairs of the member States by arranging periodic meetings ; (ii) to co-ordinate generally their political policies ; and (iii) to supervise the execution of agreements concluded between them. In March 1945 a further pact was signed by the member States following the drawing up of a constitution for the League. In addition to the above objects envisaged by the protocol the pact specified the following points : (i) each member State would respect the internal political system of the other and refrain from taking any action tending to subvert it ; (ii) States would renounce force as a method for the settlement of disputes ; and (iii) they would closely collaborate in their mutual economic and social affairs as well.

The League has a Council on which the member States have one vote each. When two states ask for arbitration of a dispute the decision of the Council taken by a simple majority is binding on the parties. A unanimous decision of the Council taken on the representation of a member State in case of an actual or potential threat to peace is binding on all the members. Any member not fulfilling its obligations is liable to exclusion by the Council, but only by unanimous vote. The Council also arranges for collaboration between the League and other international organizations.

The Presidency of the Council is by rotation among member States. The administrative head of the League is the Secretary-General. Its finances are shared by the members. Its headquarters is Cairo.

5. India

Politically India comprises two categories of territories, namely, the provinces governed directly under British authority and collectively known as British India, and the Indian States which are governed by their indigenous rulers. The States are some 600 in number and vary in

size from an area of more than 80,000 square miles to less than one square mile. The British Crown is in the relation of a 'Paramount Power' to the Indian States and the latter govern their respective territories under the suzerainty of the Crown, but with a measure of autonomy in their internal affairs.

India is at present governed under the Government of India Act of 1935. This Constitution was enacted by the British Parliament in 1935 following a series of Round Table Conferences on Indian constitutional reforms between 1930 and 1932. The Act of 1935 envisaged a central federal structure comprising the provinces of British India and the Indian States, and autonomy of the provinces. But as the federal part of the Constitution depended for its inauguration upon the readiness of the concerned parties to accede to the federation, and these were not willing to do so, only the provincial part of it could be brought into force in 1937. And subsequent developments in the country threw the entire constitutional problem into the melting pot, with the result that the federal part of the Act of 1935 lay in abeyance. However, while the Government of India Act of 1919 stood repealed when the Act of 1935 was enforced, the latter recites the provisions of the former relating to the central government which are to continue to hold good for this interregnum. Therefore, the central government in its legislative and executive aspects is now carried on for the interim period under the provisions of the Act of 1919, and in conjunction with certain other provisions for the transitional period set out in part XIII of the Act of 1935.

The central legislature is bicameral, the lower house being the Legislative Assembly and the upper house, the Council of State. The Assembly has 141 members of whom 102 are elected and 39 nominated. Among the nominated are 26 officials. The normal life of an Assembly is 3 years but it can be dissolved earlier or extended beyond that period by the Governor-General. The Council of State has 58 members of whom 32 are elected and the rest are nominated. There is an official bloc among the nominated members but its strength cannot be more than 20. Both houses of the legislature have equal powers in regard to initiation and passage of Bills, but money Bills require the vote of the Assembly only. The legislature can legislate for the whole of British India except on those subjects which are exclusively provincial according to the Act of 1935. However, the legislative power of the Assembly is limited by an amazingly wide range of legislative as well as executive power vested by the Constitution Act in the Governor-General himself. He can prohibit the introduction of any Bill, and

veto any Bill actually passed by the legislature. On the other hand, Bills not passed by the legislature (including money Bills) or those which it refuses to consider can be forthwith enacted by him as law, and in an emergency he can cause any legislation to be included in the statute by promulgating an ordinance. Besides, certain items of budgetary expenditure are non-votable by the Assembly.

The Governor-General in Council is the executive. The Governor-General is appointed by the Crown in England and is answerable to the Secretary of State for India who is a member of the British Cabinet and who in his turn is answerable to the Parliament of Great Britain for the administration of India. On the sanction of Parliament he issues Instruments of Instructions to the Governor-General and the provincial Governors in India. The Secretary of State also makes Crown appointments in India and maintains control over all such services through the Governor-General. The Governor-General has a Council. Its members are appointed by him, are dismissible by him, and are not responsible to the legislature. They are only the administrative heads of the various departments of the Government of India. There are at present 18 departments, namely, external affairs, political, law, defence, home, finance, food, commonwealth relations, agriculture, labour, industries and supplies, commerce, education and arts, health, information and broadcasting, railways, communications, and works, mines and power. The Governor-General is also the Crown Representative in his relations with the Indian States.

The electorate of the central legislature is the whole of British India. The elective seats for both the Council of State and the Assembly are distributed among the provinces and within each province, on an area basis, among the various communities and interests. The latter distribution varies from province to province. Election is direct but the franchise is not uniform for all the provinces. It is generally based on a property qualification which is lower in the case of the Assembly and high for the Council.

Provincial Autonomy under the new Act came into force in April 1937. Under the Act the number of provinces in British India became 11 (from 9 formerly) and there are four centrally administered provinces called the 'Chief Commissioner's Provinces'. The legislatures of six of the eleven provinces are bicameral and of the remaining unicameral. The lower house (or the single chamber in the unicameral provinces) is the Legislative Assembly and the upper house the Legislative Council. The strength of the Assemblies varies between provinces from about

250 to 50 and the strength of the Councils also varies similarly between about 65 and 20. The normal life of an Assembly is five years, but the Council is a self-perpetuating body, a third of its members retiring every three years and it not being subject to dissolution. While the Assemblies are all entirely elected bodies the Councils have a small nominated bloc. The election, however, is direct to both chambers except in two provinces where Legislative Councils are elected from the lower house. There are both general and communal constituencies in every province and also constituencies for special interests. The franchise is based on property qualifications or, in the alternative, on a prescribed educational qualification. The former are set high for the Council electorate and low for the Assembly electorate. Women are partially enfranchised and can vote with lower qualifications than men.

The Constitution Act specifies the subjects that fall within the legislative competence of the provincial legislature and subjects on which it has concurrent legislative jurisdiction with the central legislature. The law-making powers of the legislature are normally confined to these provincial and concurrent lists. But there are limitations to these powers. A provincial law may not conflict with a federal law on federal subjects and with the authority of Parliament to legislate for India. Besides, the Governor can veto Acts passed by the legislature and can enact temporary ordinances. He has summary powers over finance Bills as well. A Bill must be passed by both the houses where the legislature is bicameral to be presented to the Governor's signature. When they disagree on any measure a joint session of them takes a decision by majority.

The provincial executive is the Governor and his Council of Ministers appointed from among the members of the legislature. In theory the ministers are appointed and are dismissible by him, but in practice and by convention the executive is responsible to the legislature and functions as a cabinet. The Governor entrusts the formation of government to the leader of the party with a majority in the legislature. Also by convention the Governor does not ordinarily invoke his 'special responsibilities' to thwart the power of the legislature, and in accordance with the instruction to him to be guided by the advice of his ministers he keeps his veto power in other matters in abeyance most of the time. Thus in the actual working of the Act of 1935 the provinces enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy in their internal affairs. The strength of the provincial cabinets varies between provinces from 5 to about 10 or 12.

Each province is divided into a number of districts which are the units of administration. At the head of each district is the Collector who is the executive officer both on the revenue side and the side of law and order. But in the latter he also performs judicial functions in his capacity as the highest magistrate of the district. There is, however, a move at the moment in some provinces to separate the executive and judicial functions of the Collector. Local government in the provinces is carried on through Municipalities, District Boards and Village *Panchayats*. These have been constituted through various Acts of the provincial legislatures enacted from time to time. The larger towns have Municipal Corporations. There are also Improvement Trusts in many towns functioning as adjuncts to the Municipalities. All these local bodies are elected, though a small proportion of their membership is also nominated. The franchise is generally based on property or educational qualification. The autonomy in local matters enjoyed by these three types of local bodies varies, but generally speaking the District Boards enjoy less powers than Municipalities and the *Panchayats* less than the District Boards. The provincial government has a controlling authority over the general administration and finances of local bodies through the Minister for Local Government. In cases of grave mismanagement they are even liable to supersession by the provincial government.

The judiciary in the British Indian provinces comprises the High Court, the District and Sessions Courts, the Magistrate Courts and the *Munsiff* Courts. The High Court is the highest appellate court of the province and for most cases both on the civil and the criminal sides it is the final court of appeal or revision. The High Court has also a measure of supervisory authority over the judicial machinery of the province. The judges of the High Court are appointed by the Secretary of State in England in the name of the Crown. In certain cases appeals are allowed over the High Court to the Federal Court of India or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The District and Sessions courts hear appeals from the civil judges' and magistrates' courts as also have original jurisdiction on both sides. The courts of the sub-divisional magistrates and the sub-magistrates try only criminal cases. Above both these is the Collector of the district in his capacity as district magistrate. *Munsiffs* and subordinate judges try only civil cases, their jurisdiction differing with the value of the suit. The judges of all these lower courts are appointed by the provincial government.

The Act of 1935 which was drawn up on the assumption of a federation for India provided also for a Federal Court (in Secs. 200-218).

This Court was established concurrently with the introduction of provincial autonomy. There are at present three judges on it, one of whom is the Chief Justice, but the Act provides for not more than six puisne judges. It has original jurisdiction in any dispute arising between the federal centre and the federating units, be they provinces or Indian States. It has appellate jurisdiction from the High Courts of British India subject to the latter certifying a case as admitting of such appeal. It has advisory jurisdiction over points of law referred to it by the central government through the Governor-General. Appeal over a decision of the Federal Court can lie with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council but in some cases only with the leave of the former.

In March 1946, the British Cabinet sent three of its Ministers to India headed by the Secretary of State for India and charged with the task of helping India 'to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible'. What form of government is to replace the present regime was for India to decide, and the Cabinet Mission would help India 'to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision'. In May the Mission issued a statement outlining this machinery. The statement first recommended that the future constitution of India should be a Union embracing the British Indian provinces and the Indian States and dealing with foreign affairs, defence and communications only, but with powers to raise the necessary finances for these; that all other subjects should vest in the provinces; that the Indian States will retain subjects other than those ceded to the Union; that provinces shall be free to form groups and have group constitutions; and that there should be statutory provision for the provinces to demand revision of the constitution after ten years. The machinery proposed to frame a new constitution was a Constituent Assembly composed of about 385 members on the basis of one for roughly a million of the population—292 for British India divided between the provinces according to their population, and 93 for the Indian States. In the British Indian provinces the seats are further allocated between the main communities in proportion to their strength in the population of the province. The election is indirect, the provincial Legislative Assemblies forming the electorate and voting in communal blocs. After deciding preliminary matters the representatives in the Constituent Assembly may divide themselves into three sections—the first consisting of representatives of the six provinces to the south, centre and west of India, the second of representatives from the three provinces to the north and north-west of India and the third of representatives of the two provinces to the east—to frame provincial constitutions and group constitutions if any; they will meet later to settle the Union constitution. The method by which the Indian

States will send representatives to the Constituent Assembly is to be decided by negotiation between the two parties. Provinces have the right to opt out of a group after the new constitutional arrangements have come into force.

In accordance with this plan elections from the provinces to the new constitution-making body were completed a few months later and the Constituent Assembly met in December 1946. It is at the moment continuing its deliberations. For the interim period till the new constitution is framed a new Government was formed at the centre simultaneously with the election of the constitution-making body. This interim Government is constituted within the framework of the Act of 1935, but it is all-Indian, represents the political parties of the country, and by convention functions as an independent government answerable to the people of India and not to the British Parliament.

6. *China*

Since 1911 when the Chinese Revolution overthrew the Manchu dynasty and China became a republic it has had a chequered constitutional career. As many as four constitutions were tried between 1911 and 1928. These were years of internecine warfare for China and Dr. Sun Yat-sen finally succeeded in consolidating political power for the peoples' party—the Kuomintang—before he died in 1925 and a National Government was established in 1928. Subsequent constitutional evolution in China, both in its stages and in the actual form of the written constitutions, has been governed by the principles laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He divided the course of the republic into three stages, namely, military operations, political tutelage and constitutional government. The form of a constitution was to be based on three principles, namely, nationalism, people's rights and people's livelihood; and on five organs of government, namely, executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control. By 1928 China had completed the first stage and entered the second by which the National Government was responsible to the people not directly as in a political democracy but indirectly through the Party (the Kuomintang) which in turn was made up of the elected representatives of the people. This stage was formalised in 1931 when the National Government adopted the 'Provisional Constitution for the

period of Political Tutelage of 1931', incorporating the 'Organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China'. With some changes introduced during the period of the Sino-Japanese War and World War II, but notwithstanding the latest permanent constitution (described below), this is today the Constitution of China. Shortly after this was promulgated, the executive of the Kuomintang decided in 1932 that a permanent constitution be drafted so that the third and final stage of Dr. Sun's development scheme may soon be reached. Accordingly the draft was got ready in 1936 and published the same year by the National Government. This was to have been considered by an elected 'People's Congress' in 1937 for adoption and enactment as law. However, the outbreak of hostilities with Japan that year necessitated a postponement of the summoning of the Congress to 1940 and again, on the entry of Japan into World War II, till after the war. When the war ended, the question was reopened and in January 1946 an all-party conference decided to call the National Assembly (same as the People's Congress envisaged originally) to deliberate that year. This Assembly eventually met in November 1946 and the draft of 1936 was presented to it in a considerably revised form. In December the revised draft was approved by the Assembly and adopted as the new Constitution of the Republic of China. It was formally promulgated on 1 January 1947 but will come into force only from December 1947.

Thus although China is just at the moment still governed under the provisional constitution of 1931, it seems clear that the new Constitution will take effect in due course this year and hence the new Act will be detailed here and not the Act of 1931. This latest Constitution has been described as the result of 52 years of China's revolutionary history, as China's first permanent constitution since the birth of the Republic in 1911, and as a blend of Western democracy and Sun Yat-sen's philosophy. It ends China's political tutelage under the Party acting through the National Government and places the administration of the country directly under representative institutions as in Western parliamentary democracies. It consists of 175 Articles divided into 14 Chapters. Under it the Republic of China is a unitary state but with a considerable measure of legislative as well as administrative autonomy for the provinces. It is a cabinet form of government that is proposed but the separation of powers also borrows from the American constitution. The Constitution enumerates the fundamental rights of the citizen which include the freedom of the spoken and the written word; of religion, assembly and the right to property; and of recall, initiative and referendum. His obligations include receiving education and doing military service according to law.

The central government comprises the President of the Republic, a unicameral legislature—the Legislative Council, a cabinet of ministers—the Executive Council, the judiciary—the Judicial Council, and a National Assembly for discharging certain special functions. The President is the head of State and is elected indirectly by the National Assembly. Any Chinese citizen who has attained the age of 40 is eligible for the presidency. The President holds office for 6 years but is eligible for re-election. He promulgates laws and issues mandates with the counter-signature of the President of the Executive Council (the prime minister). He can refer Bills passed by the legislature back to it for reconsideration, but has no veto (Article 72). He has also powers to make emergency or crisis laws but these are subject to subsequent ratification by the legislature (Articles 39 and 43). The Legislative Council is a fully elected and sovereign body. Election for China proper is from territorial constituencies on a population basis. Each constituency will elect five members for the first 3 million of its population or any figure below that, and one additional member for every additional million of its population. Separate representation is provided for Mongolia and Tibet, the other frontier regions, Chinese nationals residing abroad and some occupational groups. The tenure of the Legislative Council is 3 years. It cannot be dissolved earlier. It elects its own president. The Executive Council is the cabinet with a prime minister who is appointed by the President from among those commanding the confidence of the legislature and the prime minister selects his cabinet colleagues. However, under Article 57 only the prime minister is responsible to the legislature and only he resigns in case of an adverse vote, though probably in practice and provided there is clear-cut party system, this will mean that the entire cabinet goes when the leader of a government is voted down. But a government cannot be defeated by a simple majority vote against it in the legislature; a two-thirds majority is required of members present at the meeting (Article 57—2 and 3) because when the legislature fails to approve a measure the prime minister can take it back to the house with the approval of the President and the former would have to repass the measure by a two-thirds majority.

The Constitution provides for a supreme Judicial Council and a National Assembly as adjuncts to the central government. The former has powers of interpreting the Constitution and pronouncing on all laws and acts of State. It has also the final appellate jurisdiction in all civil, criminal and administrative proceedings. Its judges are appointed by the President on the selection of the Control Council. They hold office for life and are irremovable. The National Assembly is a body directly elected from territorial constituencies at one delegate

for each constituency of 500,000 population or less and an additional delegate for every additional 500,000 population. Its tenure is 6 years. Its functions are (i) to elect the President and Vice President of the Republic ; (ii) to recall them if necessary ; (iii) to amend the Constitution on its own initiative ; and (iv) to hold referenda on constitutional amendments initiated by the legislature (Article 27).

Chapter XI of the Constitution provides for the evolution of a system of provincial autonomy in China. There are 28 provinces in China (excluding Mongolia and Tibet) and no statutory autonomy exists for them at present as their governments are all appointed by the centre. The province of Sinkiang has, however, been recently enjoying a measure of autonomy conceded to it by the centre by special arrangement. In due course each province will proceed to convene an assembly which will enact its self-government statute. This statute shall provide for (i) a governor, (ii) a unicameral legislature, and (iii) an executive, all three to be elected directly by the citizens of the province (Article 113). After enactment of the statute and before its enforcement it will be subject to review by the Judicial Council to ensure that no part of it is repugnant to the Constitution of the Republic. Similarly the counties (*hsien*) which are the units of local self-government within a province will proceed to convene assemblies to enact statutes for their self-government. These shall provide for (i) a 'magistrate', (ii) a county council, and (iii) an executive, all to be directly elected by the citizens of the respective counties. County constitutions may not conflict with either the provincial or the Republic's constitution. Legislative lists for the centre, the provinces and the counties are drawn up in Chapter X. Residuary powers may vest with one or other of the three according to their nature which in case of dispute will be finally decided by the central legislature.

There are four special features in the Constitution, namely, Examination, Control, Recall and Referendum, and Basic National Policy. The first two are Sun Yat-sen's bequests to the political philosophy of modern China and provide respectively for the selection of administrative personnel by open competition and investigation into public administration with institution of legal proceedings against its members if necessary. Citizens have the right to recall their representatives, and initiate and demand referendum on a measure according to law to be enacted in due course. Basic national policy with regard to defence, foreign affairs, the national economy, social security, education and culture, and the frontier regions is set down in the Constitution.

Suffrage is universal and equal. Any citizen who has attained the age of 20 can elect and any citizen who has attained the age of 23 may

get elected. Women will have separate representation in the various elections.

The Constitution can be amended in two ways. If the amendment originates in the National Assembly the Assembly itself can directly enact it; if it originates in the legislature (as the Legislative Council is empowered to propose) it is sent to the Assembly which must take a referendum on it before enactment.

Local government in China is carried on through the counties called *hsien* to which each province is divided. There are nearly 1,500 *hsien* in the whole of China. Besides there are 6 special municipalities coming directly under the central government and 21 ordinary municipalities. All these have the usual sources of local tax revenue and run the local government services.

The Chinese judiciary is made up of the district courts, the high courts and the Supreme Court. There is one high court for each province with 'branch high courts' whose number varies from 4 to 8. There are nearly 400 district courts. For civil cases these are the first-trial courts, but for criminal cases the high court is the first-trial court. The Supreme Court is the final appellate court on both sides.

7. *Japan*

Before the surrender of Japan in 1945 at the end of World War II, the Empire of Japan was governed under the Constitution of 1889, called the Meiji Constitution. It was reputed to have been drafted by Prince Ito, in great secrecy and guarded from public opinion, and to have derived its inspiration from the traditional home of European militarism—Prussia. Under this Constitution Japan was a hereditary monarchy, but the throne could devolve only upon male descendants. The Emperor was the executive head of State and was declared 'sacred and inviolable.' He enjoyed the customary regal prerogatives of making war and peace, appointing his ministers, convoking or closing the legislature and vetoing legislation passed by it. The legislature was the Imperial Diet consisting of two houses, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The upper chamber had 418 members in it, 150 of whom were hereditary

counts, barons, etc., a further varying number nominated by the Emperor and the rest elected by the highest tax-payers in each prefecture. The lower chamber had 466 members elected on a suffrage basis at one member for roughly 130,000 voters and from multiple-member constituencies. The country (exclusive of colonies) was divided into 119 electoral districts. In 1925 general manhood suffrage was extended and all Japanese males above 25 were eligible to elect and those above 30 to get elected. The normal life of a House of Representatives was 4 years. Both the chambers of the Diet could initiate legislation except finance Bills which were introduced first in the House of Representatives. The presidents of both the houses were nominated by the Emperor. The executive was the Cabinet of Ministers with a Prime Minister at its head. The 'Cabinet', however, had no constitutional status, was not necessarily responsible to the Diet, was not always composed of the Diet's members, did not function on the principle of joint responsibility even within itself, and therefore there was no party government as such. The following description of the working of the executive and the legislature from *The Orient Year Book* (1942)* will give an idea of the spirit of the Constitution of 1889: In Japan 'the Cabinet exercises all powers executive, legislative and judicial which are invested in the Crown by the Constitution'; 'a majority of the House of Representatives does not necessarily control the Cabinet. It is the Cabinet that gets a majority one way or the other'; 'the Cabinet Ministers do not therefore formulate the policies of State in accordance with the political programmes which the parties supporting the government may lay down at the time of their election'. Strictly speaking even these considerations are irrelevant because in practice it turned out that power was exercised neither by the Emperor nor by the Cabinet, but by certain extra-constitutional groups like the 'Eight Families' and the 'Imperial Rule Association' which effectively controlled one or the other of the organs of State. An amendment to the constitution could be initiated only by the Emperor.

On the Allied occupation of Japan in September 1945, the constitution continued to be in force but the legislature and the executive, in the person of the Emperor as well as the Cabinet, lost their sovereignty and became strictly subordinate to the Supreme Allied Commander. Early in 1946 the latter drafted a new Constitution for Japan and, sanctioned by the Emperor, it was promulgated in March of the same year. This new Constitution supersedes Japan's historic statute of 1889 and is an important step in the declared effort of the Allies to re-educate Japan in the art of political democracy. In a preamble

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proclaimed in the name of the Japanese people it renounces war, affirms the sovereignty of the people and revokes all previous laws, ordinances and rescripts in conflict with these. The Constitution has 95 Articles and sets up in Japan a limited constitutional monarchy with a cabinet form of government as in European democracies and a judiciary with powers similar to those of the federal judiciary in the United States. The real revolution is contained in the first eight Articles which repudiate the divine right of the Emperor. They say that his authority is derived only from the sovereign will of the people, that the approval of the cabinet shall be necessary for all his acts in matters of State and that he has no powers relating to Government. Fundamental rights are guaranteed to the people 'eternally and inviolately'.

Articles 35-60 deal with the composition and powers of the legislature. The Diet will consist of the House of Representatives which is the lower house and the House of Councillors which is the upper house. Actually only the former possesses sovereign powers. The upper House continues to have a nominated bloc. The House's total strength is 300 and the elective section of it is drawn from the prefectural, urban and rural districts, and not as formerly from the highest taxpayers alone. The House of Representatives is wholly elected and has 466 members. The normal tenure of the House of Representatives is 4 years and of the House of Councillors 6 years, but half the number of the latter retire by rotation every 3 years. The Councillors cannot deliberate when the House of Representatives is dissolved. Bills become law on being passed by both Houses, but if the upper chamber fails to pass a measure sent up to it by the House of Representatives the Bill becomes law on being repassed by the latter by a two-thirds majority. Both houses can initiate legislation but the budget and international treaties and agreements must be presented first to the House of Representatives. Here again if the upper chamber disagrees with the lower and disagrees even after meeting in a joint session for which provision is made, the vote of the House of Representatives will stand and make the measure law. In the first general elections held under the new Constitution in April 1946 members were returned to the House of Representatives on the party ticket and women exercised franchise as well as got elected for the first time.

The executive is the Cabinet of Ministers collectively responsible to the Diet. 'The Diet designates the Prime Minister' which in effect means the formation of Government by the leader of the largest party in the House of Representatives. The Cabinet is subject to the confidence of the House of Representatives.

Under the old Constitution Japan's judiciary consisted of the Supreme Court at the top and the District Courts at the bottom with intermediate Appeal Courts. All these were, however, controlled by the Ministry of Justice and the separation of powers between the executive and the judiciary was not only not real but was not even pretended. In Articles 72-78 the new Constitution makes the Supreme Court really supreme. Its judges are appointed by the Cabinet, retire on reaching the age of 70, and are otherwise irremovable except by impeachment. It is not only the court of last resort for the citizen under the common law of the land but can pronounce on the constitutionality of any law, regulation or official act. It can also control judicial administration in so far as judges of lower courts are appointed only from the panel of names nominated by it.

Constitutional amendments can be initiated only by the Diet with a concurring vote of two-thirds of the members of each House and are subject to ratification by majority vote by the whole body of voters in the country to whom it must be subsequently referred.

Local government in Japan is carried on through the 46 prefectures or administrative divisions into which the country is divided. These are further divided into more than 600 smaller units. Prefectural governors are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, while mayors and headmen of towns and villages are elected. Each prefecture has an elected assembly. Cities run municipal governments with elected councils. The towns and villages too have elective councils. Articles 88-91 of the new Constitution lay down that the organization and operations of local authorities shall be fixed by law in accordance with the principle of local autonomy, and that such local authorities shall establish public assemblies to be elected by direct and universal vote.

8. *The Nationalisms of Southeast Asia*

The countries of southeast Asia whose constitutional developments are sketched in this section are seven, namely, Ceylon, Burma, the Malayan Union, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines. With the exception of Siam and the Philippines, the politics of these countries are now motivated by a resurgent nationalism which, on the

one hand, is struggling to end an age-old colonial rule that has eaten into their vitals and, on the other, is agitating for political democracy. World War II meant a tremendous upheaval to their political development which was otherwise threatening to petrify in an unequal struggle with relentless foreign domination. With the exception of Ceylon all these countries suffered either Japanese occupation or military influence but when occupation ended on Allied victory they were reluctant to revert to the *status quo*. The constitutional changes that have taken place in these countries during the past few years, and the proposals for their future constitutional development that are now made and pending, are the outcome of this determined reluctance. The present political status of these countries is varied. Ceylon is under the British Colonial Office, but on the road to dominion status; Burma is under the India Office, but on the road to complete self-government within or without the British Commonwealth; Malaya is partly a British protectorate and partly a crown colony, but its constitutional future is still under discussion; Siam is an independent monarchy; Indo-China and Indonesia have declared their independence of French and Dutch tutelage respectively, but are still struggling for recognition of their new status; and the Philippines is an independent republic.

CEYLON

Ever since the governance of Ceylon was separated from India in 1802 the island has been administered as a British crown colony with a Governor responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in England. Beginning with the first Order-in-Council of 1833 Ceylon had measures of minor reform introduced at periodic intervals, in 1889, 1910, 1920 and 1923. These measures were concerned only with the composition of the Legislative Council and gradual increase of the elective element in it. They did not go beyond giving a small majority in numbers to the elected representatives; and the executive in the person of the Governor, (his executive council composed wholly of officials till 1920 and having a few non-official nominees later till 1931), remained the sole repository of all administrative power. The Order-in-Council of 1931 gave Ceylon the first considerable measure of constitutional advance since 1833. It followed the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission which had reported on the subject of reforms in 1928. This was a somewhat peculiar constitution in that the one-chamber legislature—the State Council—discharged both the legislative and executive functions. It had 61 members of whom 50 were elected, 8 were nominated and 3 were government officials. There were seven ministers drawn from

among the members of the Council and administering the departments under them through an 'Executive Committee' system of the legislature. This experiment was a failure for, as the members of the Soulbury Commission wrote subsequently in their report, 'the Executive Committees made administration cumbrous and dilatory, they prevented any co-ordinated effort and hindered the emergence of any real ministerial policy or responsibility'. The Donoughmore Constitution, however, abolished communal electorates and introduced universal adult suffrage.

The Constitution of 1931 was superseded in 1945 by the present Constitution of Ceylon which followed the proposals for constitutional reform reported the same year by the Soulbury Commission. It came into force by Order-in-Council in May 1946, having been accepted by the Ceylon State Council earlier in November 1945. In giving the new Constitution His Majesty's Government have made a declaration through the Secretary of State for the Colonies that they are anxious to co-operate with the people of Ceylon in the latter's advance towards dominion status. Under the Constitution the Governor will continue to be the head of the administration, for which the Secretary of State for the Colonies will also continue to retain ministerial responsibility to Parliament. Parliament retains power to legislate by Order-in-Council, including that of suspending the Constitution in the event of its breakdown. The Governor has powers to make emergency regulations for certain purposes like defence. The legislature is bicameral. The House of Representatives consists of 101 members of whom 95 are elected by universal suffrage on the present basis of territorial constituencies and the rest nominated by the Governor. The Senate has 30 members; half the number is elected by the lower house by proportional representation and the other half is nominated by the Governor. There should be at least two ministers in the Senate and the minimum age for entry is 35. The executive is the Cabinet of Ministers collectively responsible to the legislature. The Governor appoints the Prime Minister and the other ministers on the latter's choice. The legislature has full internal autonomy subject to the proviso that Bills concerning defence or external affairs, currency Bills, and any Bill involving 'oppression or serious, injustice' to any racial or religious community, shall be treated as 'reserved Bills for confirmation by the Crown.

BURMA

Before the Indian constitutional reforms of 1935 Burma was a province of India and was administered as such under the Act of 1919. In 1935

it was separated from India, but the constitution of the country under the Government of Burma Act of 1935 (which came into effect in 1937) followed the lines of provincial autonomy in India under the reforms of 1935 with additional provisions for those subjects that in India come under the central government. According to the Burma Act of 1935 the Secretary of State for India is also the Secretary of State for Burma. The legislature is bicameral. The Senate has 36 members of whom one half are nominated by the Governor and the other half elected from the lower house by single transferable vote. The House of Representatives has 132 members, 91 of whom are elected from general constituencies and 41 from communal and special constituencies. The executive is the Governor and a Council of Ministers appointed by him and chosen from among members of the legislature. In practice the Council of Ministers is a cabinet responsible to the House of Representatives and headed by a premier—as in the British Indian provinces. In addition to the ‘special responsibilities’ of the Governor, defence, foreign affairs and the frontier areas of Burma were outside the purview of the legislature.

Following the Japanese occupation of Burma in 1942 during World War II this Constitution had to be suspended but it was not resumed when civil government was re-established in 1945. Instead, the Governor carried on the administration with a council of 10 advisers under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935 which authorises the Governor's personal rule when the constitutional machinery breaks down. In May 1945 the British Government issued a White Paper which proposed that this emergency rule should continue till 1948 when the Act of 1935 was proposed to be restored. During this period there was to be an interim executive council and, if desired, an interim legislative council as well. Burmese representatives would form a new constitution after 1948. However, political events in 1945-46 compelled the British Government to drop the policy outlined in the White Paper and in September 1946 the Governor of Burma reconstituted the executive with representatives who could be said to be responsible to the people of Burma. Moreover, defence and foreign affairs were also transferred to the executive council which by convention functions now as a cabinet and its deputy president is the *de facto* premier of Burma.

Following negotiations between the new interim government of Burma and the British Government which were conducted in London in January 1947, the latter issued another White Paper outlining its new policy towards the future constitutional development of Burma. The main proposal is that the constitution of Burma should be framed by a

Constituent Assembly of Burma nationals only, to be elected in April 1947 directly by the voters that have franchise under the Act of 1935. The constituencies are also the same as under the Act and each constituency will return two representatives. For the interim period the executive will continue to be constituted on the same basis as at present and will enjoy full autonomy in internal affairs and will be generally treated as a dominion government in its external relations. For the legislature there will be an interim Legislative Council of about 100 members to be constituted after the elections to the Constituent Assembly and drawn from among its members, with the inclusion of a small number of representatives of non-indigenous minorities. Burma will also be free to leave the British Commonwealth.

THE MALAYAN UNION

Before World War II the Malay Peninsula was divided into the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements comprising Singapore, Penang, Malacca and a few other islands, the Federated Malay States which were four in number and the Unfederated Malay States which were five. The St. Settlements were administered by the Colonial Office through a Governor resident in Singapore who was also the *ex officio* High Commissioner to both the Federated and Unfederated States. He was assisted in the administration of the Settlements by an executive and a legislative council in each of which there were nominated non-officials but official majorities. 'In practice the Governor ruled by consultation and agreement with such groups as were important and powerful enough to make their influence felt'. The four federated States entered into treaty relations with Britain at various periods between 1874 and 1895 by which they accepted British protectorate and advice in government. They federated in 1895. Each State had a council which had official and nominated non-official members and was presided over by the Ruler himself. In 1909 an advisory federal council was established with the Governor-General as president and with a number of non-official members. The five unfederated States came under British suzerainty between 1895 and 1909. In both the federated and unfederated States the respective Rulers were bound to accept British advice on all matters except the Islamic religion and Malay custom to which their sovereignty was restricted. In this complex set-up the governmental machinery of Malaya became hopelessly cumbrous and many administrative measures of the Governor were either arbitrary or ineffective over wide areas.

To reform this state of affairs the Colonial Office put forward constitutional proposals a few months after civil government was restored

in Malaya in 1945 at the close of World War II, and in pursuance of these a Malayan Union was created under a new Order-in-Council with effect from April 1946. Under this, which is at present the Constitution of Malaya, the territories of the Peninsula have been slightly realigned. The four federated States together form a Union in keeping with the new treaties which all the nine Rulers signed with the British Government towards the end of 1945. By these new documents the Rulers ceded full power and jurisdiction to the latter in regard to any constitutional arrangements that might be made for Malaya. To the Union have been added Penang and Malacca from the St. Settlements and the rest of the St. Settlements, i.e., Singapore and a few smaller islands will continue to be a crown colony to be known as the Colony of Singapore. There are separate Governors for Singapore and the Union and a Governor-General on top of them. The Governor-General does not have direct executive powers but can actually exercise many indirectly under the powers of 'direction and co-ordination' he possesses. However, the Governors have supreme legislative and executive powers and are directly responsible to the British Government.

In the Colony of Singapore the Governor is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. Foreign and imperial relations, defence, and trade relations with the Union are subjects reserved to the Governor's discretion. His Executive Council is a nominated body. The Legislative Council has 22 members in it, half of whom are officials and the other half non-officials. Of the non-officials 9 are elected and 2 nominated by the Governor. Election is indirect—through public associations.

In the Malayan Union the Governor's Executive Council is appointed by the British Government. The Legislative Council has 42 members. Half the number is official and the other half non-official, but the whole Council is a nominated body. It is, however, expected that the Governor will in due course draw upon the elected members of the legislative councils in the States and the other Settlements that are part of the Union for nominating the non-official bloc in the Union legislature. There is a Council of Sultans of which the Governor is the president and all the nine Rulers are members, besides three Union ministers. This Council advises the Governor on any matter referred to it either by himself or by any of the Rulers. The Constitution also created a new Malayan Union citizenship based on birth or domicile in the Union or the Colony of Singapore.

A further plan for the constitutional development of Malaya was put forward in December 1946 by a committee consisting of representatives

of the Union Government and the Rulers. The plan proceeds on the implicit assumption that the formation of a Malayan Union has deprived the States of even the little internal autonomy which they might have possessed formerly and that this should be restored to them. Accordingly it proposes to replace the Union by a 'Federation of Malaya' to be formed by new agreements between the Crown and the Rulers individually and collectively. Other territory may accede to the federation. The chief executive will be a High Commissioner. Defence and external affairs will be reserved to him. He will also have powers to advise the rulers in their government. A Federal Legislative Council is proposed with 11 official and 34 non-official members who are not to be elective to start with but will become so after a short period.

SIAM

Until 1932 Siam was an absolute monarchy. The process of modernization which started in the days of 'Anna and the King of Siam' in middle nineteenth century never touched the field of government. At the most, an utter autocracy became an 'enlightened despotism'. Siam's present constitution was drawn up in 1932 after a bloodless revolution sponsored by the People's Party which consisted of intellectuals having the support of the army. The Party succeeded in forcing the King to accept constitutional monarchy under a parliamentary democracy which was, however, intended to be run for a transitional period of ten years by the People's Party.

The Constitution of 1932 declares the King as head of State, as being 'sacred and inviolable' and a defender of the Buddhist faith. His executive and legislative powers are limited by the Constitution. The King can dissolve the legislature even without the cabinet's concurrence but general elections must be held within three months of such dissolution. He has a suspensive veto on Bills passed by the legislature. He can also propose legislation to it and enact emergency measures with the countersignature of one among the responsible ministers.

The legislature is unicameral—the People's (or National) Assembly. Its total membership has been varying since 1932 and in 1941 it stood at 180. Half this number is directly elected and the other half nominated by the King on the recommendation of the Government of the day. This principle was introduced as a temporary measure in 1932 to be revoked and the Assembly made fully elective ten years later, but in 1941 the provision for nomination was extended for a further period of ten

years. This has naturally made party government more nominal than real. Each Assembly is elected for 4 years. It has full legislative powers and can also amend the constitution by passing amendments twice by a three-fourths majority.

The executive is the State Council which is a cabinet of ministers, individually and collectively responsible to the legislature. It has a President (the prime minister) and 14 Councillors (ministers) who must be members of the Assembly and up to 10 other Councillors who may not be so. The first fifteen might of course include nominated members of the Assembly as well. Actually Siam under the Constitution of 1932 did not have a premier who was also an elected member of the Assembly till 1946.

All Siamese men and women over 20 years of age can vote, and those over 23 of age, and literate, can stand for election.

INDO-CHINA

Before World War II Indo-China was administered wholly as a colony of France, in most matters directly from Paris. The territory was politically divided into five regions, namely, Cochin China, Annam, Cambodia, Tongking and Laos. The first named was a French colony since 1868 and the other four were French protectorates since 1884, 1863, 1883 and 1893 respectively. The executive and legislative head of the administration for the whole area was a Governor-General appointed by and responsible to the Ministry of Colonies in France. His administration was subject to periodical inspection by officers directly deputed by the Ministry and reporting to them. He was assisted by a purely advisory body called the 'Grand Council of Economic and Financial Interests'. Half the members of this body were officials and the other half were nominated non-officials drawn from among Indo-Chinese public men. Even the advice of the Council was confined to matters which the Governor-General chose to refer to it and the members had no power to introduce subjects for discussion. Moreover, much of the legislation affecting the colony was passed by the Ministry of Colonies in France itself and was extended to Indo-China for execution. The colony of Cochin China was under a Governor responsible to the Governor-General and each one of the four protectorates was under a Resident. The four territories had indigenous administrations but these as well as the deliberations of their advisory Assemblies were strictly

controlled by the Residents and the situation was similar to the relations between the Sultans of Malaya and the British.

Following Japanese occupation of Indo-China during World War II Annam had been declared and recognized by Japan as an 'independent republic' under the name of 'Viet Nam' early in 1945. When the Allied forces reoccupied Indo-China consequent upon Japan's surrender they encountered not only the nationalist forces that had built up an independent State in Annam but widespread resistance from the other territories also to French reoccupation and readministration. These developments led ultimately to the conclusion of a series of agreements in the early months of 1946 between France and the various territories of Indo-China. Viet Nam consisting of Annam, Tongking and Cochin China was recognized as an independent Republic within a projected Indo-Chinese Union. Cambodia was recognized as an autonomous unit within the future Indo-Chinese Union. France and the Union would be jointly represented in Cambodia by a Commissioner. There would be a cabinet of 7 Cambodian ministers assisted by 10 French councillors. The latter would only advise but would be obligatorily consulted in certain specified matters. In addition there would be French regional councillors in the provinces and they would have control over finance. Later some internal reforms were also introduced in Cambodia which is now described as a constitutional monarchy with an elected Assembly and party government.

In June 1946 the French set up an 'independent' Republic of Cochin China which Viet Nam does not recognize. The final unification of Annam, Tongking and Cochin China as the Republic of Viet Nam, the drawing up of a constitution for an Indo-Chinese Union with Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos as its federating units and the adoption of a permanent organic law for Viet Nam are at the moment in process. However, in November 1946 Viet Nam adopted a draft Constitution after approval by a directly elected National Assembly consisting of about 275 members. The Constitution declares the fundamental rights and provides for a unicameral legislature called the People's Representative Assembly. Its members are elected from territorial constituencies on universal and adult suffrage. The Assembly possesses sovereign legislative powers. The President of the Republic is the executive. He is elected by the Representative Assembly from among its members by a two-thirds majority. He is assisted by a cabinet of about 12 ministers who are not necessarily members of the legislature. Viet Nam is a unitary State but with a large measure of provincial autonomy exercised through directly elected provincial and local legislative and executive councils.

INDONESIA

Before World War II the Netherlands East Indies—as Indonesia was known until recently—was administered as a colonial possession of the Netherlands. The Governor-General of the colony, appointed by the Crown, was directly under the Dutch Ministry of Colonies and for well over a century since 1816 much of the legislation for the Indies came made by the States General (parliament) in the Netherlands itself. Consequent upon the revision in 1922 of the colonial articles in the Netherlands Constitution and the revision in 1925 of the East Indian Government Act, many legislative powers passed to the Governor-General, and the Volksraad—the legislature of the Indies—was also associated with some of these, though the Netherlands parliament retained final executive and legislative authority for the colony. The Governor-General was assisted by a council of 4 to 7 members who were appointed by the Dutch Minister of Colonies and were dismissible by him. They acted in a purely advisory capacity. The Volksraad had 61 members in it, including the chairman who was a Crown nominee. The distribution of this strength was on a racial basis: 25 were Indonesians, 30 Netherlanders and 5 non-indigenous Asians. Thirty-eight members were elected by indirect, separate electorates, and the rest were nominated. 'Though the Volksraad had the power of initiation as well as amendment, the ordinary procedure was for the Governor-General to initiate legislation'. The Volksraad felt its lack of influence in the administration so bitterly that during the fifteen years between 1927 and 1941 it did not think it worth its while to use the power of initiation on more than six occasions. Territorial and provincial governments were in the hands of Governors and Residents.

At the end of World War II, two days after Japan surrendered in August 1945, Indonesia was declared an independent republic by the 'Indonesian Independence Preparatory Committee' with an elected president and a vice president assisted by a cabinet of 17 ministers. 'Acts concerning the transfer of power, and so on', were to be executed as soon as possible. Later that year a draft constitution was drawn up which included four 'provisions affecting the interregnum'. These provide that the above Preparatory Committee shall exercise powers of government with the assistance of a National Committee. The National Committee consisting of 25 members was formed out of a National Convention called in October 1945. The Convention was representative of all parties in the country and it vested the National Committee with full legislative authority till the new constitution could be adopted and enforced.

The draft Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia envisages a unitary and republican Indonesian State. The constitution-making body is a People's Congress elected partly directly from territorial constituencies and partly indirectly from the (existing ?) legislature. The Congress is also meant to be a permanent institution holding at least a quinquennial session for deciding certain specified matters. The head of State is the President who is to be elected for a term of five years by the Congress. He is the chief executive and appoints a cabinet of his choice on the American model. He has been given powers to enact emergency legislation subject to subsequent ratification by the legislature. He has also a suspensive veto. The legislature is unicameral and is called the Council of Representatives. It is intended that it should possess full and sovereign legislative powers.

A plan for the future constitutional development of Indonesia was announced in November 1946 following agreement between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republican Governments. The plan proposes to set up a federal State, to be called the United States of Indonesia and comprising all the former territories of the Netherlands Indies (Java, Madura, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Great East), and a sort of confederation, to be called the Netherlands-Indonesian Union and comprising the United States of Indonesia, the Netherlands, Surinam and Curacao—the last two being the rest of the original Dutch territory in the Indies Archipelago. It is hoped to accomplish these two arrangements before the end of 1948. The constitution of the United States of Indonesia is to be determined by a constituent assembly composed of representatives of the Republic and of the other future units of the federation elected by a mutually agreed democratic procedure, and subject to the population of such units not expressing, by open vote, any unwillingness to join the federation. The statute of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union is to be drafted by representatives of both parties and approved by their respective parliaments. The main interests of the Union will lie in the spheres of foreign relations, defence and economic co-operation.

THE PHILIPPINES

The origin of the present Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines is the Tydings-McDuffie Act enacted by the United States Congress in March 1934. This was an enabling measure which authorized the Philippines to elect a constitutional convention to draft a constitution for its territory. The Act set down the general form to which the draft

constitution was required to conform. The draft was ready in February 1945. It was subject to the approval of the United States Congress which was given shortly after. It was then placed before the Filipino electorate for ratification by direct vote; this was obtained in May 1935 and the draft constitution thus became law.

According to the Constitution the Philippines was to become a sovereign republic after 10 years from the enforcement of the new Constitution. Until then it enjoyed full internal autonomy as a commonwealth with the United States. A number of transitory provisions were included in the Constitution by which the United States exclusively controlled the foreign affairs of the Philippines. The economic and financial interests of the United States in the Philippines were statutorily safeguarded. In pursuance of this provision the full independence of the Philippine Republic was proclaimed by the United States in July 1946. The United States withdrew and surrendered 'all rights of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty' until then exercised by it in the Philippine territory.

The Philippine Constitution is closely modelled after that of the United States. The chief executive is the President who is elected directly for a term of 4 years. He is eligible for re-election but cannot hold office for more than two terms consecutively. His cabinet is appointed by him, holds office during his pleasure and is dismissible by him. He is required to choose his ministers in consultation with the Commission on Appointments of the legislature. He has a suspensive veto and can by message recommend measures to the legislature.

Originally under the Constitution the Philippine legislature was unicameral but by amendment in 1940 it was made bicameral. The legislature is now called the Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Both initiate legislation. The Senate has 24 members directly elected for a period of 6 years, one-third of them retiring every two years. But unlike as in the United States they can be chosen at large. The House of Representatives has 120 members apportioned among the provinces on a population basis. Men and women over 21 years of age and literate can vote.

The Supreme Court has power to pronounce on the constitutionality of laws made by the executive and the legislature. It is also the highest appellate tribunal in the land.

PART THREE

ECONOMIC

1. *Population*

MORE than half the inhabitants of the world are in the continent of Asia. Just 300 years ago world population was about 550 million. During this period it has almost exactly quadrupled itself. And so has Asia's population nearly quadrupled itself in the same period from 350 million. Over three centuries the two have been moving almost parallelly which is a phenomenon exemplified only by Europe among the other continents. The two populations have been projected upto 2,000 A.D. by a leading authority¹ and they are expected to grow parallelly for the rest of this century also. By then world population would have exceeded 3,500 million and Asia's 1,900 million. In a very general sense, the growth or decline of populations depends upon whether the lag between fertility and mortality is favourable to the one or the other. Invariably and year after year more people are born for every thousand of a population than die for the same aggregate, with the result that increase is apparent. This is, of course, a simplification because a simple excess of births over deaths does not necessarily mean that a population is being maintained, and still less does it mean that it is growing. The maintenance of a population, or its growth or decline, depends specifically upon whether what is called the 'net reproduction rate' is 1, more than 1, or less than 1. This concept refers to the sex and age

1. Office of Population Research, Princeton University, (U.S.A.)

composition of a population. If the number of female babies born and surviving into the reproductive age works out to an average of one to a woman—when the rate is said to be 1 or ‘unity’—then the population maintains itself; if it is below unity it begins to decline; if it is above unity it begins to increase. Aside of this technicality, however, in modern communities the death rate and infant mortality rate tend to diminish as medical and health services are continually improved. This is particularly true of the non-Asian communities which have harnessed science and the amenities of modern civilization to the physical betterment of their populations to a much fuller extent than the Asian part of the world has hitherto been able to do. Furthermore, it is true of the non-Asian communities—particularly the European and the North American—that their birth rate is also declining in recent years owing to the conscious limitation of the size of families. That is why so long as fertility did not decline as much as mortality the populations of Europe and North America expanded at a phenomenal rate, while now these populations are showing a tendency either to be stationary or to decline because, on the one hand, medical achievement is nearly fullest in its application and no further diminution of mortality seems possible and, on the other, decline in fertility has been very sharp. But the situation in Asia is different. As preventive and curative medicine is extended to Asian communities mortality (both infant and adult) is declining while birth rates continue to be high with no artificial or social restraint on the size of the family. In other words, decline in fertility lags far behind the mortality decline. Add to this the fact that Asia starts with an initially large population and, the Asian community being preponderantly agrarian, differential fertility also errs on the side of profusion. Table II gives comparative figures for birth, death and infant mortality rates for some Asian and some Western countries. The Asian countries chosen are the important among those recognized by another leading authority² as representative of Asian populations. Roumania has been included among the Western countries as it is representative of the agrarian communities of southeast Europe and, as can be seen, has features not dissimilar to those obtaining in Asia. Thus, in all probability Asia is now on the threshold of a new expansion of population which will naturally increase still further the proportion of Asians in the world.

On the basis of the latest censuses in the case of some countries and later official estimates in the case of others the present total population of Asia is computed in Table I at 1,224·1 million out of a world total of 2,219·7 million. This includes the population of European as well

Table I

THE POPULATION OF ASIA.

Country	Population (thousands)	Per cent of Asia's population	Per cent of World population
<i>A. Western Asia :</i>	67,982	5.5	3.1
Turkey	18,971	1.5	
Egypt	17,423	1.4	
Iraq	3,561	0.3	
Saudi Arabia	7,000	0.6	
Transjordan	300	—	
Syria	2,860	0.2	
Lebanon	1,127	0.1	
Palestine	1,740	0.2	
Iran	15,000	1.2	
<i>B. Central Asia :</i>	431,868	35.4	19.5
Azerbaijan	3,210	0.3	
Kirghizia	1,459	0.1	
Kazakhstan	6,146	0.5	
Turkmenistan	1,254	0.1	
Uzbekistan	6,282	0.5	
Tadjikistan	1,485	0.1	
(Soviet Central Asia)	(19,836)	(1.6)	
Afghanistan	10,000	1.0	
India	388,998	31.8	(17.5)
Nepal	5,600	0.5	
Bhutan	300	—	
Tibet	750	—	
Ceylon	6,384	0.5	
<i>C. Eastern Asia :</i>	567,723	46.4	25.5
China	450,000	36.8	(20.3)
Japan (including Formosa)	78,986	6.5	
Korea	24,326	2.0	
Outer Mongolia	540	—	
Soviet East Asia	13,871	1.1	
<i>D. Southeast Asia :</i>	149,802	12.2	6.7
Burma	16,824	1.4	
Siam	15,718	1.3	
Indo-China	23,853	1.9	
Indonesia	71,534	5.8	

Country	Population (thousands)	Per cent of Asia's population	Per cent of World population
Malayan Union (Including St. Settlements)	5,517	0.5	
The Philippines	16,356	1.3	
<i>E. Other Asia :</i>	6,757	0.5	0.3
<i>Total Asia</i>	1,224,132	100.0	55.1
<i>Total World</i>	2,219,764		100.0

Table II

BIRTH RATES (PER 1,000 INHABITANTS) IN 1940

Country	Rate	Country	Rate
Egypt	41.6	U. S. A.	17.9
Palestine	38.7	Great Britain	14.6
India	32.0	France	13.4
Japan	28.9	Germany	20.4
Federated Malay States	39.7	Roumania	26.5

DEATH RATES (PER 1,000 INHABITANTS) IN 1940

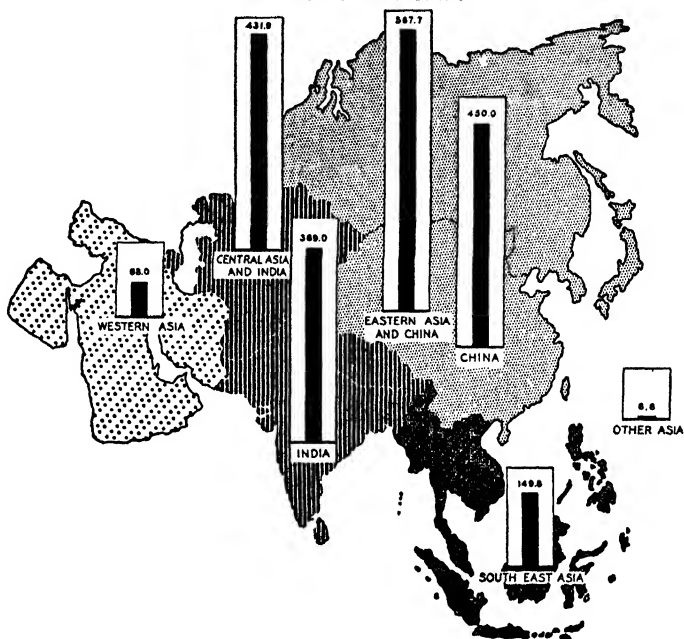
Egypt	26.5	U. S. A.	10.8
Palestine	18.5	Great Britain	14.5
India	21.0	France	18.4
Japan	16.1	Germany	13.0
Federated Malay States	18.6	Roumania	19.2

INFANT MORTALITY RATES (DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR
PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS) IN 1940

Egypt	162	U. S. A.	47
Palestine	127	Great Britain	61
India	160	France	91
Japan	114	Germany	65
Federated Malay States	134	Roumania	189

POPULATION OF ASIA BY DIFFERENT ZONES

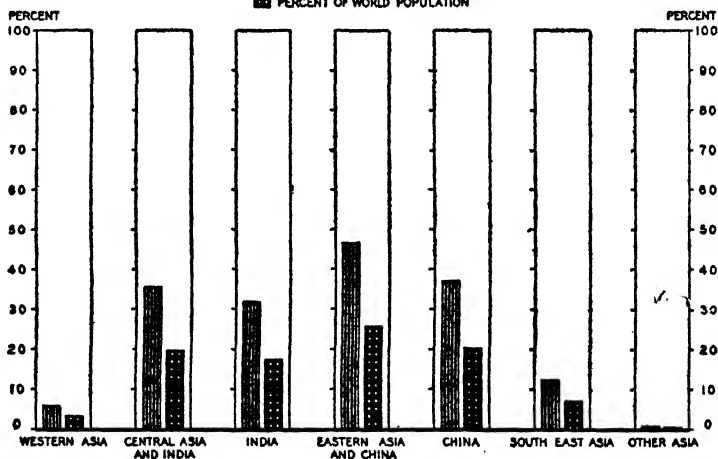
■ POPULATION IN MILLIONS



PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

■ PERCENT OF ASIA'S POPULATION

■ PERCENT OF WORLD POPULATION



BIRTH RATES

IN SOME ASIAN COUNTRIES AND IN THE WEST COMPARED

PER 1000 INHABITANTS
1940



EQUALS 10

ASIAN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY

EGYPT



PALESTINE



INDIA



JAPAN



FEDERATED
MALAY STATES



WESTERN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY

U.S.A.



GREAT BRITAIN



FRANCE



GERMANY

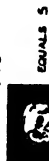


ROUMANIA



DEATH RATES

IN SOME ASIAN COUNTRIES AND IN THE WEST COMPARED
PER 1000 INHABITANTS
1940



EQUALS 5

ASIAN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY

EGYPT



PALESTINE



INDIA



JAPAN



FEDERATED
MALAY STATES



WESTERN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY

U. S. A.



GREAT BRITAIN



FRANCE



GERMANY



ROUMANIA



INFANT MORTALITY RATES

IN SOME ASIAN COUNTRIES AND IN THE WEST COMPARED
DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS

1940



EQUALS 20

ASIAN COUNTRIES

WESTERN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY

COUNTRY



EGYPT

U.S.A



PALESTINE

GREAT BRITAIN



INDIA

FRANCE



JAPAN

GERMANY



FEDERATED
MALAY STATES

ROUMANIA

as Asian Turkey and of Egypt (excluding the Sudan). The population of the U. S. S. R. in Asia is shown in two groups—Soviet Central Asia and Soviet East Asia. The former covers the southern part of Soviet Asia and the latter practically the rest of Soviet Asia including Yakutsk, Buriat Mongolia and the whole of Siberia. The populations of countries other than those named in the Table come under 'other Asia'. These are mainly the various small islands of the Indian and South Pacific Oceans. The bulk of Asia's population is of course concentrated in India and China which together account for more than 68 per cent of it and nearly 38 per cent of the world total. On a regional³ basis eastern Asia contains the highest proportion of Asia's total and western Asia the lowest. Central and southeast Asia occupy a middle position. However, it is necessary to leave aside India and China and look at the figures in another way. Taking 15 million as the minimum figure of population 'bulk' for a single political unit, there are only three among the nine countries of western Asia with substantial populations; only one among the six in central Asia; but three out of the four in eastern Asia and five out of the six in southeast Asia. (The autonomous Soviet republics in the two zones are counted as single entities for this purpose). This is why perhaps the demographic problem has hitherto been underlined more in the eastern half of Asia than in the western half—the countries of southeast Asia, for example, having no more advantage in the matter of living space than the countries between Turkey and Iran; the average area of a country in both regions is roughly 700,000 sq. kms.

WESTERN AND SOVIET ASIA

The population of Turkey has been steadily increasing since 1900. But for a sprinkling of Jews and Christians the inhabitants are all Muslims. In 1945 the mean density was only 25 per sq. km., but density

3. The countries of Asia have here been regrouped into four main zones and under a nomenclature which is slightly different from the conventional. The 'East' has hitherto been divided by the 'West' into 'near', 'middle' and 'far'. The first two were meant to cover the countries between Turkey and Iran, and the last chiefly meant China and Japan. There were of course 'central Asia' and 'southeast Asia', the former meaning a rather nebulous, romantic region around the Caucasus and the Pamirs, and the latter referring to a varying number of colonial tropics between India and China in the north to Australia in the south. India itself came under none of these and Soviet East Asia was completely ignored. It is needless to say that this conventional gradation of proximities has emanated from a view which assumes Europe to be the political and cultural centre of the earth and is rather meaningless from the point of view of the continent of Asia as a whole. The nomenclature adopted here divides Asia into four regions comprehensively on a purely physical basis, namely, western, central, eastern and south-eastern. It can therefore be valid for the countries of the Asian continent individually as well as collectively.

tends to increase as one moves from east Anatolia to European Turkey. Nearly 70 per cent of the total population is dependent on agriculture but the percentage of actual workers in agriculture is nearly 80. Just more than 80 per cent of the population is rural and the rest urban. The rural population dependent on agriculture per sq. km. of arable land is about 48. Of those gainfully employed outside agriculture about 10 per cent are in industry. In spite of the fact that during the past twenty years the number of workers employed in industry has more than doubled, Turkey still maintains its essentially rural character. But a considerable section of this population in the Aegean coast and elsewhere is less exposed to the usual concomitants of heavy pressure on land such as high birth, death and illiteracy rates, and shows a growing urban influence.

Although the mean density of Egypt is as low as 17 per sq. km. its inhabited area is so small relatively to its total area that Egypt is actually one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Out of the total area of 1 million sq. kms. only an area of 34,500 sq. kms. formed by the Nile delta and valley is inhabited, yielding a density of about 470 per sq. km. Succeeding increases in population have been crowding into the same narrow area with the result that this density figure has steadily risen since 1882. Muslims are more than 90 per cent of Egypt's population; the rest are Christians, Jews accounting for less than 0.5 per cent. On account of these features the population of Egypt presents a combination of religious and regional homogeneity. In vital rates there is a religious differential; birth and death rates are both lower for Christians than for Muslims, but the death rate is not lower to the same extent as the birth rate, with the result that the Christian population can multiply only at a lower pace than the Muslim. Besides, in urban areas Muslims are born at a higher rate but die at a lower rate. The net reproduction rate is well above 1.4. Thus future populations will continue to favour Muslims in religious composition. Approximately 20 per cent of Egypt's population is urban. Urbanization has not made much progress as even fifty years ago urban population was as much as 15 per cent of the total. Of the gainfully occupied people three-fourths are engaged in agriculture, about 10 per cent in manufacturing industry and 8 per cent in commerce.

The total population of Syria and Lebanon is about 4 million, but its distribution between the two political entities of an otherwise joint region, in relation to their respective areas, is not proportionate. Lebanon has nearly half as many people as Syria but in area it is less than one-twentieth of Syria. Thus the mean density for Lebanon is 125 per sq. km. and for Syria only 15. The religious composition of the Syrian and

Lebanese population is not so homogeneous as in other western Asian countries excepting Palestine. At the end of 1944 Muslims of various sects were 3 million or 75 per cent of the population and the rest were Christians of various denominations with about 35,500 Jews. Two-thirds of the population is rural. The density per sq. km. of cultivable area is about 40 in Syria and 154 in Lebanon. The urban population is concentrated in four big towns with populations of 100,000-300,000 each and four small towns with populations of 20,000-70,000 each. The industries of Syria and Lebanon being mostly small-scale the urban population is employed largely in commerce and communications.

Among the countries of western Asia Palestine has both a relatively high density and a complex demographic character in the existence of substantial Jewish numbers side by side the Arab. There is now roughly one Jew for every two Muslims in Palestine. The relative increase in Jewish numbers in the population through immigration has to a certain extent been balanced by the higher birth rate of the Arab community. In 1943 the birth and death rates per thousand were respectively 29 and 7 for Jews and 52 and 19 for Arabs. 'More than three-fourths of the gain in the Jewish population between 1922 and 1940 was due to immigration'. Palestine has a mean density of 65 per sq. km. For Palestine as a whole rural population is about half the total, while the average for the other countries of western Asia is three-fourths or more. But the Jews have contributed to this urbanization more than the Arabs. In 1944, for example, two-thirds of the Jewish population was urban while 75 per cent of the Arabs were rural. Rural population per sq. km. of arable land is 67. Among the Jews approximately 15 per cent are in agriculture, 32 per cent in manufacture and transport, 20 per cent in trade and commerce, and the rest in the liberal and administrative professions. Among the Arabs about 12 per cent of those gainfully employed are engaged in industry.

The Asian population of the Soviet Union makes an aggregate of 34 million or 17.6 per cent of the total population of the U. S. S. R. Between 1926 and 1939 there was some large-scale migration between the several regions of the Union. European Russia was poorer by 3 million who crossed to the Urals, Siberia and the far east. A million and a half came to Soviet Central Asia. The Turkmen, Uzbek and Kirghiz peoples belong to two major racial groups—the Turkic and the Iranian. In the Central Asian zone density ranges between 1 and 10 per sq. km. and in the East Asian zone the average is less than 1.5 per sq. km. The most densely populated areas of Siberia are situated along the Trans-Siberian Railway. In Russia as a whole the agricultural

population is slightly larger than the urban, but in Soviet Asia approximately three-fourths of the inhabitants are in agricultural and pastoral settlements. Towns with a population of 50,000 and more are about 45. Detailed figures of the rural-urban composition are available for only a few of the republics. In Uzbekistan 4.9 million is rural and 1.4 million is urban. In Kirghizia 1.2 million is rural and 0.2 million urban. In Yakutsk 322,000 is rural and 79,000 urban. As the over-all death rate has fallen by more than 40 per cent since the Revolution these rural communities have contributed disproportionately to the 16 per cent increase in the total population of the U. S. S. R. between 1926 and 1938.

INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

India's present population of 389 million is an increase by 39 per cent over what it was fifty years ago. Of the total population, 201 million are males and 188 million females. By religious composition, there are 255 million (65.5 per cent) Hindus, 94.4 million (24 per cent) Muslims, 5.7 million Sikhs, 6.3 million Christians and 27.6 million others of whom 25.4 million are classified as 'tribes' not declared to any religion. About a dozen main languages are spoken each by populations of a million and over. In 1940 the birth rate was 33 per thousand and the death rate 22. Fall in these rates has not been very appreciable since the 1911-21 decade when they stood at 37 and 34 respectively. Infant mortality—high as it is—has, however, declined substantially. In 1911-15 it was 204 per thousand while in 1940 it had fallen to 160. Among female deaths the highest incidence falls on the age group between 15 and 30 which is the childbearing age in India. The average expectation of life at birth was about 24 in 1881 and improved to 32 in 1941. According to the 1941 census the rural population was 339 million (87 per cent) and only 50 million (13 per cent) lived in cities. There has been no marked change in the rural-urban ratio during the past fifty years because even then nine out of every ten people lived in villages. The proportion of urban population varies from province to province between about 3 per cent in Assam and 26 per cent in Bombay. Though India is among the world's first eight industrial countries the vast bulk of its population lives in its villages which number more than 650,000. There are hardly 60 cities with populations of 100,000 and over in which most of the urban population is concentrated. The mean density is 95 per sq. km. Density naturally varies and in the fertile river valleys of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bengal and Bihar it is as high as 400 to 1,000 per sq. km. In occupational distribution the main feature of India's population is

that though the absolute numbers employed in non-agricultural pursuits have increased since 1931—consequent upon industrial expansion—there has been no change in the proportions of workers employed in the various occupations. The increase of population has outstripped whatever opportunities for additional gainful employment the expansion of industries and services could create. The present working population is estimated at about 174 million. Sixty-five per cent of the actual workers are occupied in agriculture, 10 per cent in industry, 7 per cent in trade and transport, and 3·5 per cent in public services and the liberal arts. Agricultural workers include working dependents among whom are some following certain subsidiary village occupations. The industrial workers include those engaged in small as well as large industries, and quite a number of small industries flourish in rural areas. Thus the rural population is more than proportionate to the numbers actually occupied in agriculture. Moreover, agricultural communities support a larger number of non-working dependents than the industrial and trading section.

Ceylon has a population of 6·4 million with a mean density of 96 per sq. km. which compares more with India than with any country of southeast Asia. Density is highest in the western province where it is as high as 400 per sq. km. It is moderate in the central and southern provinces and lowest in the north and east. The indigenous Sinhalese population is about 4 million, and of the balance about 900,000 are Tamils from south India and the rest are Moors and Europeans. The religion of the majority of indigenous inhabitants is Buddhism. The population is, of course, preponderantly rural, but the urban proportion is slightly more than in India—about 14 per cent.

Burma's present population is 16·8 million, with a mean density of 28 which is the lowest in the southeast Asia region. But as the country is mountainous and one-fifth of it is dense forest the fertile region of the Irrawaddy delta is very thickly populated. By religion 85 per cent of the people are Buddhists, 5 per cent Animists, 4 per cent Muslims, 4 per cent Hindus and 2 per cent others. Burmese is the language of the overwhelming majority of the indigenous people, though some 4 million of them speak other dialects also. Agriculture and forestry support more than 70 per cent of the population. About 12 per cent of the actual workers are in industry including mining, and 4 per cent in transport.

The population of the Malayan Union (including St. Settlements) is racially heterogeneous. Of the total population of 5·5 million the Malays are only about 40 per cent. About 44 per cent are Chinese,

14 per cent Indians and the remaining 2 per cent are Europeans and others. These immigrant communities have created a demographic problem by distorting the age and sex composition of the population as well as its fertility and mortality rates. Among the immigrants adults preponderate, and the proportion of females to males has also been growing in recent decades. Nevertheless, owing to the floating nature of substantial numbers, and otherwise on account of the special conditions of life of the immigrant communities, the natural increase of the Union's population is probably not so high as it might have been if Malays had preponderated in it. The death rate, anyway, has been recently declining. The mean density is 40 per sq. km. Variation in density is confined to comparatively narrow limits. But the rural-urban ratio of the Malayan population varies greatly between areas. The urban population is over 60 per cent of the total in the St. Settlements while in the rest of the peninsula the rural population is more than 75 per cent of the total. The ratio has also a correlation to the racial composition of the population. The Chinese are more urban; they predominate in the tin mines, the small trades and in factory employment. The Malays predominate in indigenous agriculture and the Indians in rubber plantations.

Indo-China comes second in population among the countries of southeast Asia with nearly 24 million inhabitants. About 20 million live in the territories of the present Viet Nam Republic, 3 million in Cambodia and 1 million in Laos. The two main ethnic groups are the Annamite and the Cambodian. Annamites are 73 per cent of the population and are concentrated in the territories of the present Viet Nam Republic. Cambodians are 14 per cent. Among the rest are Siamese, Indonesians, Chinese and Europeans in the order of their relative numbers. The mean density of Indo-China is 32 per sq. km. On the whole, density tends to decline as one moves from the north to the south of the country. In Tongking the density is in some places 450 per sq. km. and in others as much as 1,500. These areas are even more crowded than the other densely populated regions of Asia like Egypt, Bengal and Java. The occupational distribution of the population is still hazy: 'the borderline between wage earners in European undertakings and the rural proletariat is shifting and hard to trace; members of the first of these are generally recruited from the second, and continue to belong to it'. The number employed in manufacturing industry (including mining) is at present about 120,000. Trade, banking, the public services and the liberal arts are in the hands of Europeans. So the overwhelming proportion of the population depends on agriculture including plantation.

The distribution of Siam's population of 15·7 millions has been conditioned by the fact that 70 per cent of the country's surface is covered by forests. The concentration of population therefore follows the course of the Mekong river across central Siam. By religion 95 per cent of the people are Buddhists; among the rest are about 700,000 Muslims and 70,000 Christians. The mean density is 30 per sq. km., but density is naturally very high in the river valleys as 88 per cent of the gainfully employed are in agriculture and they have only 6 per cent of the land area to cultivate. The actual workers number about 7 million and less than 2 per cent of these are engaged in industrial pursuits. As in Malaya Chinese labour predominates in the Siamese mining industry.

Indonesia is the most populous of countries in southeast Asia. Out of its total population of 71·5 million more than 50 million people live in Java and Madura and the rest are distributed between the outer provinces. The population is overwhelmingly Muslim; roughly 90 per cent of the people are Muslims. Of the remaining 10 per cent the pagans and Hindus (in Bali) account for 5 per cent and the rest is made up of Europeans, Chinese and non-indigenous Asians. In spite of their small relative numbers Europeans have permeated the Indonesian social and economic structure to a much larger extent than, for example, in India. 'There are four times as many Europeans per thousand population in the Dutch East Indies as there are in British India'. The Indonesians belong to a number of smaller ethnic groups and speak about eleven main languages. The mean density for the entire territory of Indonesia is only 38 per sq. km. but the density of Java which is 366 per sq. km. is the more representative as more than two-thirds of the total population is concentrated there. Java is agriculturally one of the most productive spots of Asia and its indigenous population has doubled itself since 1900. Urban population is hardly 10 per cent of the total and, as in India, includes small-town population as well as the city dwellers. Even this small extent of urbanization is evident only in Java and Madura, and in the outer provinces it is insignificant. Similar difference is also apparent in occupational distribution between the two regions. In Java the percentage of actual workers engaged in the different occupations is roughly as follows: agriculture 83; industry and trade 15; public services 2. In the outer provinces dependence on agriculture is as high as 92-95 per cent.

The population of the Philippines is 16·4 million. Racially the inhabitants are drawn from the Malay stock. Christianity is the dominant religion and embraces nine-tenths of the population. Among the rest are about 700,000 Muslims. The mean density of the Islands is

55 per sq. km. The density does not vary between the numerous islands as violently as it does between different areas in other southeast Asian countries. The maximum is about 250 per sq. km. Occupationally, the Philippine population is perhaps better balanced than the working population of any other country in southeast Asia. Of the total number of actual workers approximately 65 per cent are engaged in agriculture, 12 per cent in manufacturing industry, 4 per cent in transport and communications, and 5.5 per cent in trade.

CHINA AND JAPAN

The population of China (including the provinces of Manchuria, but excluding Tibet, Outer Mongolia and overseas Chinese) is in the neighbourhood of 450 million, being the biggest single demographic mass in the world⁴. Leading authorities are of opinion that the population of China has not grown for several decades now but has been fluctuating at the same level. This is attributed to the high probability that 'the birth and death rates must each be fluctuating round the same level, with the consequence that, since the fluctuations of the two rates do not always coincide, at one time the birth rate exceeds the death rate and the population grows, and at another time the death rate exceeds the birth rate and the population declines'. A recent estimate puts the crude death rate at 30 per thousand and the infant mortality rate at 200 per thousand. The sex ratio is put at 100 females to 120 males. The mean density in China is 51 per sq. km. but in a number of provinces it varies from 100 to 300 per sq. km. About six-sevenths of the total population is said to live in less than half the total area. Agriculture supports between 80 and 85 per cent of the population. The total number of actual workers in non-agricultural occupations is about 5 million. Just more than half these are employed in mines and about 2 million in factories. The rest are transport employees.

Alone among the Asian countries the demographic character of Japan resembles that of the advanced industrial communities of the West. Between 1870 and 1930 Japan's population was increasing at an increasing rate. The rate declined suddenly in the 1930-40 decade. The present population of Japan proper (i.e. excluding Korea, Karafuto and Sakhalin but including Formosa) is 79 million. In 1939 the birth

4. 'No census of the entire Chinese population has ever been taken and consequently estimates and reports on the total Chinese population have varied greatly', says the *China Handbook: 1944*. The generally accepted figure of 450 million agrees with the estimate by the Chinese Ministry of Interior in 1943, if the territories and category mentioned are excluded.

and death rates were 26 and 17 per thousand respectively. The infant mortality rate was 114 per thousand in 1938. All these rates are by far the lowest for any country in Asia. (Only the death rate is slightly lower in the Philippines). Japan's net reproduction rate was 1·4 in 1937. In Japan proper, males and females were almost equal in numbers in 1940. Japan's mean density is the highest in Asia—207 per sq. km. In some prefectures (districts) specific density is also a record and can be as high as 3,000 per sq. km. Five prefectures have densities of 600 and over per sq. km. In 1940 the urban population was nearly 40 per cent of the total, high even for the most industrialized country of Asia. Occupationally, there are about 25 million people who are gainfully employed—slightly less than one-third the total population. Forty-five out of every 100 workers are females, but in agriculture there are generally more female workers than male. Agriculture engages 45 per cent of the workers; industry 20 per cent; trade 10 per cent; transportation 5 per cent; and public service and the liberal professions 3·5 per cent.

2. *Economic Resources*

In the world since the Industrial Revolution, human well being has depended upon the utmost and many sided development of the economic resources of countries and communities. The social and cultural values which everyone cherishes are difficult, if not impossible, of fulfilment without the material welfare that can fit man harmoniously to his social environment. This is the content and goal of what is now conveniently called 'higher standard of living'. Countries and regions are obviously unequally endowed with resources for economic development. Unequal endowment, however, need not in itself condition the relative economic development of countries, nor is it necessary that standards of living in the various countries should be proportionate to their differing extents of economic resources. For, with the tremendous expansion of sea communications between continents, and land communications between countries and regions over contiguous areas, nations have been able to fill up the gaps in their resources to a substantial extent. During the past one century the influence of commerce as the great leveller of unequal endowment has been great. Whether it be in the matter of food or of

raw materials for industry, nations can, in theory, buy what they do not have to eat or manufacture, in exchange for what they do have for meeting other nations' requirements. Nevertheless, in a very important sense, the economic resources of a country can, and often do, condition its standard of living. The reasons for this are of common experience. A country might not have enough of a thing, or enough of the required quality, to give in exchange; other things it can give might not be particularly wanted by anyone because they too have them; some things like electrical energy cannot ordinarily be transported between countries; for certain articles like coal their value is so little per unit in relation to their bulk that it is too expensive to transport them over long distances; and generally, countries tend to specialize in the manufacture of things for which they have what is called comparative advantage. While these limitations which arise under conditions of free commercial intercourse between nations pin the material welfare of countries to their resources indirectly, living standards are directly pinned to natural resources by the desire of countries to become 'self-sufficient' in food and manufactures in order to circumvent the various artificial obstacles that happen to beset commerce in the present complex world economy. Thus, either way, differences in endowment of economic resources continue to condition the degree of material welfare that any country, community or region can achieve in given circumstances.

Raw material and food resources can either be potential or developed. Both are relevant to the appraisal of a country's or region's resources in relation to others because every country naturally desires to develop all of its potential in due course. The potential resources of raw materials and food are not, however, in the same category for purposes of development. The entire food potential of a country can probably be developed within a measurable period of time and the output maintained thereafter more or less at the same level. But industrial raw materials, which are mostly the minerals, cannot be completely developed within a similar period, and if they were, the resource would no longer be there. Therefore the developed resources of minerals are really more representative than what they outwardly seem.

In so far as industrialization in the wider sense, which includes the industrialization of agriculture and the expansion of various services, is recognized as the postulate of higher living standards, the regional resources of coal, iron ore and hydro-electricity are of the first importance; for, these form the basis of industrial civilization as we have known it. The world reserves of anthracite and bituminous coal and lignite are estimated at 7,340,000 million metric tons of which Asia (including

Soviet Asia) contains 1,340,000 million metric tons or 18 per cent ⁵. The biggest reserves of coal are held by the United States, and the other areas in the order of their reserves are China, Canada, the U. S. S. R., Europe (excluding the U. S. S. R.), Australia and India. China's reserves are about 950,000 million metric tons and India's about 100,000 million metric tons. In water power it is estimated that the world's potential resources are approximately 443 million horse power. The share of Asia (including Soviet Asia but excluding Egypt) in this is about 78 million horse power or 18 per cent of the world potential. Nearly one-third the world resources are latent in Africa, and the other regions in the order of their reserves are South America, Europe (excluding the U. S. S. R.), the United States, India, China, Canada and Japan. India and China have between 20 and 30 million horse power each. In iron ore the vast bulk of the world's reserves occur outside Asia. The United States possesses the largest reserves and the other areas in the order of their importance are Europe (excluding the U. S. S. R.), Newfoundland, South America and the U. S. S. R. China, Japan, India, Borneo and the Philippines are the areas where iron ore reserves exist in Asia. The total of these is probably less than 10 per cent of the world's potential resources. Among the two sources of energy, coal and water power, the approximate *per capita* potential resource in coal and the resource *per million inhabitants* in water power for Asia as a whole and for some countries and areas inside and outside Asia, are tabulated below:

Country or Continent	Coal (metric tons)	Water Power (horse power)
Asia (excl. U.S.S.R.)	1,043	48,000
Europe (excl. U.S.S.R.)	1,080	112,000
China	2,150	50,000
India	256	70,000
Japan	209	200,000
United States	27,000	250,000
U. S. S. R.	3,300	120,000

Although similarly comparable data for iron ore reserves in Asia are unfortunately not available, it is obvious from the above, taken in conjunction with the known existence of iron ore reserves in certain parts of Asia, that there are four centres of industrial power in Asia based

⁵ Based on Frank H. Simonds and Brooks Emeny, *The Great Powers in World Politics*, and J. F. Horrabin and J. S. Gregory, *An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.* (for Soviet Asia).

on the availability of the great essentials of industrial civilization: the first is the region between the Urals and Lake Baikal in Soviet Central and East Asia; second, the mid-eastern part of India around Bihar; third, the region between Manchuria and the southeastern provinces of China; and fourth, Japan. Thus in Asia, only western Asia and southeast Asia are rather poor in industrial potential; the rest of the continent can reasonably be considered well endowed for a high degree of industrialization.

In developed food and raw material resources Asia naturally ranks very high in agricultural products. It also ranks high in certain auxiliary minerals as well as in a few semi-manufactures. Tables III and IV give respectively Asia's share in the production of certain livestock and agricultural products, and minerals, metals and semi-manufactures, in which the share is substantial. The production figures are in most cases annual averages of output for two representative years between 1939 and 1944. Some refer to a single year. It will be seen from Table III that rice among the staple foods, tea among articles of drink, rapeseed among oilseeds, and raw silk and jute among agricultural raw materials are the products in which nearly the entire world supply comes from Asia. Copra, groundnuts, palm oil and sesamum are the products in which between half and nine-tenths the world's out-turn is contributed by Asia. In barley, wheat, tobacco, cane sugar, cottonseed, linseed and raw cotton Asia grows between one-sixth and half the world production. In maize, coffee and wool Asia's share is, however, less than 15 per cent of the world total. Among minerals, metals and semi-manufactures listed in Table IV Asia contributes more than half the world supply of tin, tungsten ore, mica and crude rubber. Between one-fifth and half of the world production of manganese, chrome ore, antimony, staple fibre and rayon is shared by Asia. A sixth of the world's petroleum comes out of Asia's wells. But in coal, iron ore, pig iron and ferro-alloys, steel, lead, zinc and aluminium Asia's production is less than one-tenth of the world output.

WESTERN AND SOVIET ASIA

Taken individually the mineral and power resources of Turkey are considerable, but, as is the case in most parts of the Asian continent, they are relatively undeveloped. The two leading mineral deposits of Turkey are chrome ore and copper. Chrome deposits are found extensively in the Mediterranean coast and in western Anatolia. Turkey mines from half to two-thirds of Asia's chrome ore production. The

Table III

**ASIA'S SHARE IN THE WORLD PRODUCTION OF CERTAIN
LIVESTOCK AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS**

(In thousands of quintals)

Product	World	Asia	Percentage
Rice	1,471,000	1,405,000	95.5
Barley	505,500	158,000	31.2
Wheat	1,786,000	390,000	21.8
Maize	1,283,000	164,000	12.8
Tea	8,000	7,850	97.5
Tobacco	30,000	13,200	44.0
Cane Sugar	202,200	94,100	46.5
Coffee	21,000	1,390	6.7
Rapeseed	39,600	39,400	94.4
Sesamum	15,000	13,400	89.3
Cottonseed	124,500	33,900	27.2
Linseed	25,200	4,700	18.6
Copra	18,660	15,675	84.4
Groundnuts	86,000	67,000	78.0
Palm Oil	4,970	2,760	55.1
Cotton	63,400	15,700	24.7
Jute	15,000	135	99.1
Wool (metric tons,000)	1,800	175	9.4
Raw Silk (metric tons)	59,200	53,440	90.2

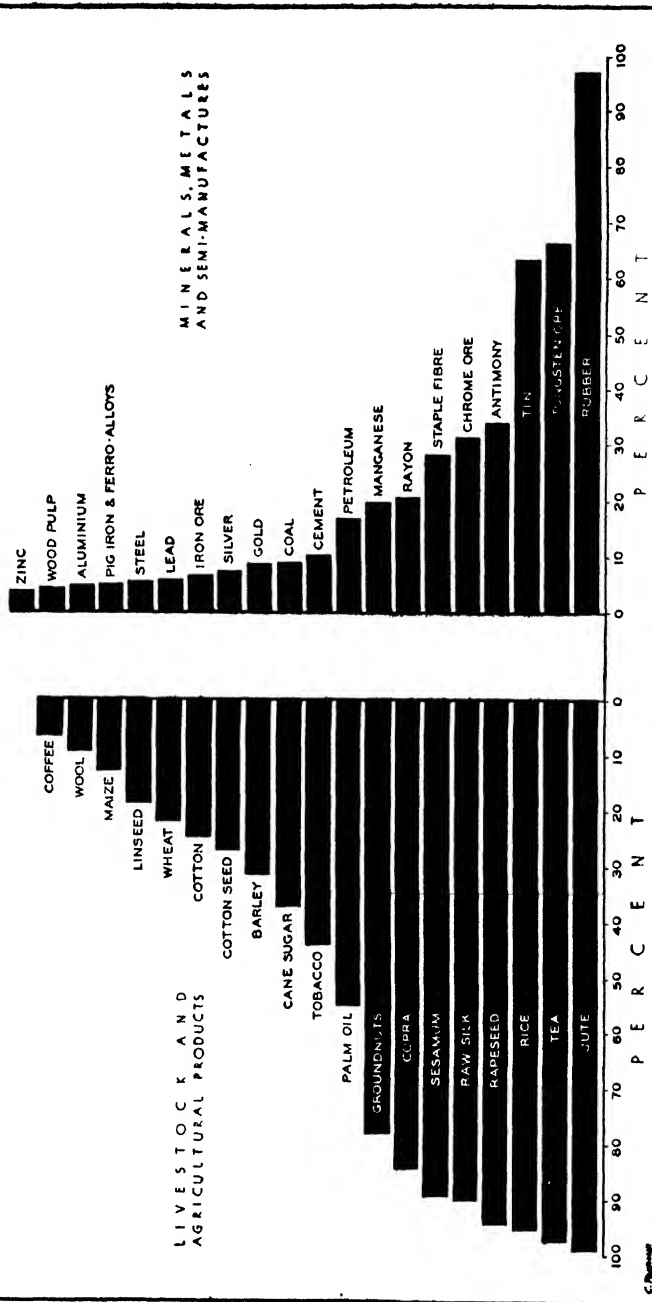
Table IV

**ASIA'S SHARE IN THE WORLD PRODUCTION OF CERTAIN
MINERALS, METALS AND SEMI-MANUFACTURES**

(In thousands of metric tons)

Product	World	Asia	Percentage
Coal	1,317,300	121,000	9.2
Iron Ore	78,500	5,400	6.8
Petroleum	285,123	48,395	17.0
Pig Iron and Ferro-Alloys	104,300	5,500	5.1
Steel	135,100	7,250	5.3
Lead	1,715	103	6.0
Zinc	1,620	60	3.7
Manganese Ore	3,025	610	20.0
Aluminium	1,100	55	5.0
Tin	189	120	63.4
Chrome Ore	520	164	31.5
Tungsten Ore	21	14	66.5
Antimony Ore	41	14	34.1
Mica	8	6	75.0
Cement	85,000	9,000	10.6
Rubber	1,411	1,370	97.1
Staple Fibre	493	140	28.5
Rayon ...	521	181	20.9
Silver (metric tons)	8,400	628	7.5
Gold (kilogrammes, 000)	1,200	110	9.1

PRODUCTION OF ASIA PERCENTAGE OF WORLD PRODUCTION ANNUAL AVERAGE FOR TWO REPRESENTATIVE YEARS BETWEEN 1929 & 1944



copper deposits are on the Black Sea coast. In power resources only one or two rivers, but considerable lignite reserves, help to generate hydro-electric and thermal energy. Coal occurs in the north of Ankara, and iron ore in the south. Among the auxiliary minerals Turkey possesses zinc, manganese and antimony in decent quantities. The chief agricultural resources of Turkey are wheat, barley, maize, cotton and tobacco ; and the livestock products, mohair and wool.

In the remaining countries of western Asia economic resources are limited by the vast stretches of desert. Only the Jordan river in Palestine, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers of Iraq, and the Nile in Egypt dominate the potential power resources as well as the agricultural output of the region. The mineral resources of Palestine are largely confined to salts, and those of Iraq to petroleum. In the oil belts of Iraq between 2.5 and 4 million tons of petroleum are being produced annually. The same mineral speciality, of course, obtains in Iran whose output goes up to 10 million tons per annum. In Iran, however, deposits of coal, iron ore and copper exist and mines are being worked at present. In Egypt, in addition to various salts, petroleum is produced in substantial quantities (over a million metric tons), and some manganese ore is also mined. Afghanistan possesses iron ore, copper, and lead deposits. Agriculturally western Asia's products are both rich and varied. Broadly, the region enjoys the climate of the Mediterranean type. Citrous fruits and olive oil in Palestine, wheat, barley, maize and fruits in Syria and Iran, dates in Iraq and Arabia, and some cotton in Iran, are the chief agricultural resources of the region. Egypt's agricultural position is unique. The two chief products are cotton and wheat—cotton of one of the finest qualities known to the textile world. Fisheries are important in Egypt and Iran. The raw silk and wool of Iran are among the specialties of the western Asian region. Livestock belonging to cultivators are handicapped by dearth of fodder. Great numbers of them are held by trekking nomads who have to ' follow the succession of herbage and water-supplies ' for them.

In Soviet Asia the great navigable rivers of Siberia are also the largest sources of hydro-electric power. The potential resources are concentrated in Siberia and the developed resources in Central Asia. ' The Siberian resources have remained relatively undeveloped owing to the sparse population and the fact that as yet there are not such large or so numerous industrial centres here as in European Russia, the Caucasus, or Central Asia '. The Siberian potential exceeds 80 million kilowatts. Generation of thermal electricity at sources of low grade fuels is planned along a southern belt from Tashkent to Vladivostok.

In fuel reserves Soviet Asia has the biggest petroleum reserve of the U. S. S. R. in Baku and the second biggest coal reserve in the Kuznetsk basin. Soviet Asia now supplies more than one-third the total coal output of the Union. The output of the Baku oil wells is well over 25 million tons per annum. The Urals and Siberia also carry rich deposits of iron ore; they contribute about 30 per cent of the total U.S.S.R. output of pig iron. Among the auxiliary minerals Soviet Asia possesses extensive deposits of copper, manganese, zinc and lead. Gold deposits are extensive in eastern Siberia. The vegetation of Soviet Asia has endowed its southern belt with forests that yield rich timber. The main agricultural resource of Soviet Central Asia is cotton—in some areas, the long-staple Egyptian cotton. Central Asia grows two-thirds to three-fourths the total cotton crop of the U. S. S. R. The other important product is wheat. But Soviet Asia is probably more important as a great stock-raising region than as an agricultural region. Right across southern Siberia and southern Central Asia sheep and goats are distributed in good density and Soviet Russia's wool production is most important here. Reindeer are the chief material for stock-raising in northern Siberia.

INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The physical features of India where powerful perennial waters flow from the mountains to the plains in the north and from the *ghats* to the plateau in the south make its hydro-electric resources enormous. But at present there are not more than half a dozen major hydro-electric undertakings with the result that hardly 2 per cent of the potential water power of the country is being developed. This contrasts with the proportion of developed to potential resources in the European countries and the United States which is as high as 30-50 per cent. Thermal electricity is being generated in the big cities, but the demand from industry and transport on the country's coal raisings limits widespread tapping of this source. India's power output from all sources, and including the plans for new installations which are now in the process of execution, does not probably exceed 1.15 million kilowatts as against a total potential of 27 million kilowatts. India's coal output averages about 28 million tons per annum. Over 80 per cent of this is mined out of a single coal area—the Gondwana coal fields. Iron ore deposits are also concentrated in the same region. Ore output has averaged about 2.6 million tons per annum. In Asia (excluding the U. S. S. R.) India is the third largest producer of coal and the largest producer of iron ore. The wells of the Punjab and Assam produce nearly 90 million gallons of petroleum. Among the auxiliary minerals India's chief resources lie in manganese,

mica, chromite and copper. India produces practically the whole of Asia's output of manganese (excluding the U. S. S. R.) and mica.

The alluvial, black, red and laterite soils of India, and a continental climate prevailing in the north and a tropical climate in the rest of the sub-continent, have richly endowed the country with agricultural and pastoral resources. In common with the countries of southeast and eastern Asia rice is India's chief agricultural product. Next come wheat, the millets, and other grains and pulses. Next to China, India is the largest grower of rice in Asia. The output ranges between 25 and 30 million tons per annum. The production of wheat averages about 10 million tons, and of cane sugar about 6 million tons. Among the non-food crops oilseeds are the most important. About 5 million tons of oilseeds of all kinds are grown annually. India holds practically a monopoly in the world supply of jute, and produces an average of a million tons of raw cotton (mostly short-staple) annually. Relatively minor products are raw silk, tobacco and rubber. In tea India's production ranks first in Asia (excluding China), being nearly 50 per cent of Asia's total.

Approximately one-seventh the total land area of India is forest. The forest products are a variety of high class timbers, firewood and wood pulp. The total timber yield is about 350 million cubic feet. In its cattle wealth of over 220 million heads India has nearly a third of the world's bovine population. Fisheries remain rather poorly developed.

Taken as a whole from Ceylon and Burma to the Philippines, the southeast Asia region possesses—in relation to its area and population in Asia—overwhelming resources in eight commodities. These are rice, petroleum, rubber, tin, coconuts, sugar, tea and timber. Also, outside of the big three coal regions—India, China and Japan—substantial coal reserves in the rest of Asia exist only in Indo-China and Indonesia. In its richness and variety of economic resources, and naturally in climate and vegetation, southeast Asia presents a prominent contrast to western Asia. Ceylon's mineral resources of commercial importance are confined to deposits of ilmenite, glass sands, monazite and mica. Agriculturally, the largest crop of the island is coconuts, and rice comes next. Rubber and tea are the other large crops. Ceylon is the second largest producer of tea in Asia (excluding China), the output being about 25 per cent of Asia's total. Livestock of all kinds are about 2 million. Fisheries are next only to agriculture in importance. The forests cover one-fifth the total area and supply both firewood and timber. Burma's production of petroleum averages over a million tons per annum which is about 10 per

cent of the total output of southeast Asia. Apart from this fuel resource, Burma has extensive deposits of the auxiliary minerals. The country annually produces, on an average, 5,000 tons of tin, 4,500 tons of tungsten ore, 72,000 tons of lead, and substantial quantities of copper and zinc. In the production of tungsten ore Burma is second in Asia. Extensive deposits of lignite are also known to exist. Burma's production of rice is about 5-6 million tons per annum. The next important crop is oilseeds (sesamum and groundnuts) of which about 250,000 to 300,000 tons are grown. With over 30,000 sq. miles of reserved forests Burma's out-turn of its famous teakwood averages over 300,000 tons per annum.

The economic resources of Malaya are practically synonymous with its rubber and tin. Both in its agricultural and forest wealth Malaya is described as 'extremely fertile'. Malaya produces about 65 per cent of Asia's tin output. The average production is between 50,000 and 60,000 tons per annum. In the output of rubber Malaya has been running since 1937 a close race with Indonesia. The average total crop is about 550,000 tons or 45 per cent of Asia's production. The largest crops in non-plantation agriculture are coconuts and rice. The Malayan jungles are rich not only in timber the output of which is well over 300,000 cubic feet, but in cane (*rattan*)—reputed throughout the east—and in guttapercha, gums and resins. Siam is among the richest countries in southeast Asia in economic resources. Its mineral deposits are both extensive and varied, while its rice lands are no less fertile than any in Asia and its forests no less dense with sturdy teak. The minerals of the first importance are tin and tungsten ore. About 16,000 tons of the former and 200 tons of the latter are mined. Coal, iron ore, and manganese also occur. Siam's main agricultural produce is rice, with an average annual out-turn of 5 million tons. And the plantations raise about 40,000 tons of rubber annually.

Among the countries of southeast Asia Indo-China has the largest output of coal. The country mines about 2·5 million tons of anthracite annually. Of next importance comes zinc of which about 6,000 tons are produced. The chief agricultural product is, again, rice. Indo-China's rice production exceeds on an average that of either Siam or Indonesia and closely rivals Burma's output. The annual crop is about 7 million tons. The other agricultural products are a small quantity of cane sugar and about 60,000 tons of rubber. Raw silk is also reeled. Forests provide good reserves of wood particularly in Cambodia, and fisheries are well exploited throughout Indo-China.

Indonesia is the largest producer of petroleum in southeast Asia and second only to Iran in the whole of Asia (excluding the U. S. S. R.).

On an average between 7 and 8 million tons of petroleum are drilled out of the wells, most of them situated in Sumatra and eastern Borneo. Tin and coal are the other considerable mineral reserves. Next to Malaya, Indonesia mines the largest quantity of tin ore in Asia—over 40,000 tons per annum. Coal output is about 2 million tons per annum. The agricultural products are varied. Rice is of course the chief crop and the annual production is about 5 million tons. The other important food crops are maize and cane sugar. Indonesia's production of maize equals that of India—about 1.5 million tons; and next to India, Java grows the largest cane sugar crop in Asia. Sugar production is about 1.5 million tons. Indonesia's production of copra closely rivals that of the Philippines which is the largest grower of the coconut crop in Asia. The country has also a variety of plantation crops, chief among them being rubber. The quantity of rubber extracted is approximately half a million tons per annum which is about the same as the Malayan output. The other plantations are tea, coffee, tobacco and cinchona.

The chief mineral of the Philippines is gold. The Islands' production of gold is the largest in Asia (excluding the U. S. S. R.) and is about 35 per cent of the continent's total. There are not very extensive deposits of the basic and auxiliary minerals, but iron ore, chromite and copper occur in good quantities. The production of iron ore is about 1.2 million tons, of chromite 190,000 tons, and of copper 9,000 tons. The leading agricultural products are rice, maize, cane sugar and copra. About 6 million tons of rice and 1.5 million tons of sugar are produced annually. The Philippines shares 40 per cent of Asia's total copra production. The Islands are rich in forest wealth. In addition to timber, the forests yield cane, gums and resins.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Alike in electrical energy, basic and auxiliary minerals, industrial raw materials and agricultural products China's economic resources are truly enormous. Equally, the proportion of developed to potential resources is perhaps nowhere more disparate in Asia than in China. China's potential in hydro-electric energy is more than 20 million kilowatts, but the present output from all stations does not exceed 25,000 kilowatts which is just one-tenth of one per cent. The coal reserves of China have already been mentioned. Official estimates of the reserves of some other minerals are also available. These are as follows: iron ore, 1,694 million tons; petroleum, 1,273 million tons; tungsten ore, 1.8 million tons; manganese, 20 million tons; copper, 2.6 million tons;

tin, 52,000 tons ; and antimony 631,000 tons. China's coal production averages 35 million tons a year which is second only to Japan in Asia (excluding the U. S. S. R.). About 1.5 million tons of iron ore, 10,000 tons of zinc, 9,000 tons of manganese, 7,000 tons of tungsten ore, 9,000 tons of tin, and over 13,000 tons of antimony are mined annually. Mining of the most important ores is all concentrated in half a dozen provinces. Szechwan and Hunan are the principal coal and iron ore areas and Kangtung and Kwangsi contain the tin, tungsten, lead and manganese mines.

There are four main agricultural regions in China. Two of them are wheat regions; the third is the rice region and the last is a combined rice and wheat region. All these regions are in the eastern half of the country, and the south-eastern and south-central parts form the heart of agricultural China. The whole belt from southern Heilungkiang (in Manchuria) to the Szechwan and Hupeh borders in southeast China is the wheat region. The combined wheat and rice region is the belt across south China from central Yunnan (in the west) to Kiangsu (in the east), and the exclusive rice region runs parallel to this belt to the southmost, right up to the South China Sea. In agricultural resources there is remarkable similarity between India and China because the leading food and non-food crops are the same. The main agricultural products of China are rice, wheat and barley. China is the world's greatest rice growing region and fills nearly half the rice bowl of all humanity. The average annual production is over 50 million tons. The wheat crop is about 23 million tons and the barley crop about 8 million tons. In tonnage the output of sweet potatoes is next only to the staple foodgrains and nearly 20 million tons of it are grown annually. Cereals and millets come next with a combined total production of about 30-40 million tons per annum. The cane sugar output is about 3 million tons which closely rivals India's production. Among the non-food crops the important are oilseeds, cotton, tobacco and tea. About 7 million tons of oilseeds, a half to a three-quarter million tons of cotton, a million tons of tobacco and 300,000-400,000 tons of tea are produced annually. China's tea crop is the largest in Asia. In raw silk production China is next only to Japan in Asia, though China's production is one-tenth of Japan's. The annual average is 4,500 tons.

China's livestock are distributed in good density in the agricultural areas. The rice fields depend mainly on the water buffaloes which are nearly 12 million heads. Cattle, sheep and goats are distributed mainly in the wheat regions. Cattle are about 48 million heads, sheep 55 million and goats 23 million. China's forest area is about 8.4 per cent of the

country's total land area. Next to timber the leading forest produce is tung oil. The tung trees grow profusely in the Yangtze valley. The annual output of this wood oil is about 100,000 tons.

The industrial and agricultural resources of Japan are by far the most varied in Asia. For its size and population Japan is extremely well endowed with sources of energy and the basic minerals. Japan's potential resources in hydro-electricity are estimated at 14·5 million horse power, its coal reserves at 16,690 million metric tons and its iron ore reserves at 80 million metric tons. Big and small there are 1,400 hydro-electric generating stations in Japan and over 450 thermal power stations. The total generating capacity from both these is about 4·5 million kilowatts. Japan's coal production exceeds 55 million tons per annum and is the largest in Asia (excluding the U. S. S. R.). It is double India's output and one and a half times China's output. The average annual production figures for the other minerals are as follows : iron ore, 450,000 tons ; copper ore, 75,000 tons ; lead ore, 12,000 tons ; and zinc ore, 22,000 tons. Asia's production of copper ore is hardly 6 per cent of the world total, but 60 per cent of Asia's production comes from Japan.

The main agricultural resources of Japan are—in common with India or China—rice, wheat, barley and the other cereals. But the position occupied by the non-food crops in the rural economy of other Asian countries is taken up in Japan by sericulture and camphor. Japan's output of raw silk is over 50,000 tons a year which is more than 75 per cent of the world total. Natural camphor is practically Japan's monopoly in the world market, and about 4,000 tons of it are produced annually. The rice out-turn is in the neighbourhood of 11 million tons and Japan takes the third place in this—after China and India. The average annual outputs of the other crops are : wheat, 1·5 million tons ; barley, 1·6 million tons ; and tea, 60,000 tons.

' More than half the area of Japan proper is occupied by forests '. The timber output is about 25 million cubic metres. Fisheries are developed to the maximum in Japan and the country's total annual catch is about 3·5 million tons—nearly the quantity for the whole of Europe.

3. *Agriculture*

From time immemorial agriculture has been so much of the essence of the whole Asian community without any regional or racial exception that to the outside world the economic situation in Asia is practically synonymous with its agriculture. This is not, however, considered a matter of particular gratification because overwhelming dependence on agriculture has meant fundamentally complex problems to the internal economies of the Asian countries, and in the world economy a position less strong than if their ruralization were not so intense or inescapable. Considerations of income and taxable capacity—which are the direct factors that mould national progress—are rendered difficult by the various handicaps imposed on the agricultural economy by factors like climate and social *mores*. It is a well recognized fact that to millions in Asia agriculture is not a mere gainful occupation; it is a way of life. Among all the callings known to ‘economic man’ the human element is most important in agriculture. Such matters as land systems, technological advancement, and laws of inheritance and succession are far more the warp and woof with people in agriculture than in industry or transport for example. Briefly, agriculture is far less amenable to efficient speed and change than the other branches of a country’s economy.

The essential facts of agriculture everywhere can be divided into three broad categories: (i) land holding; (ii) land utilization; and (iii) trade in agricultural products. Systems of land holding vary from country to country in Asia, but generally speaking land is held either by individual peasant proprietors, or in estates by bigger landlords, or in settlements run on co-operative lines. Systems of land tenure do not necessarily correspond to countries or even regions across contiguous areas. Two or more systems invariably co-exist in every country. Full scale collective farming is, of course, still confined to Soviet Asia. Settlements are being tried in a few countries of western Asia, notably in Palestine. Peasant proprietorship predominates in Turkey while Egypt and Iran still tend towards estates. India’s land system is a combination of peasant proprietorship, landlord estates and village estates. Chinese agriculture is largely a system of peasant households within landlord agriculture, while in Japan the agrarian population is divided in good proportions between those who are tenants only, those who are

both tenants and proprietors, and those who are peasant proprietors only—thus making out as in India a gradation of status in land holding. In southeast Asia the predominance of plantation economy has obscured the land holding problem, but the region has not escaped the recurring and alternate movements—common to most countries of Asia—from peasant proprietorship to larger estates and *vice versa*.

The problem of land utilization is three-faceted. First, the extension of the area available for pasture and cultivation, generally by clearing forest and otherwise reclaiming arable land; second, extension of area by irrigation; and third, increasing the productivity of the soil by the application of technological innovation. As populations of Asian countries multiply, as densities per unit of cultivated land increase, and as the pressure on food resources intensifies, there is a desperate struggle for reaching out to the farthest limit of cultivable area. Because, in Asia at any rate, this is the first resorted of the three means of providing for more of subsistence. The capital outlay and engineering skill required for building extensive irrigation systems are not easily had except in a few of the Asian countries. And technological innovation and its application are inadequate to the needs even in bigger regions like India and China. Table V and the two maps seek to give an idea of the extent of land utilization in the various zones of Asia. It is, of course, an incomplete picture since fuller data, particularly for the countries of southeast Asia are unfortunately not available. Yet the figures are very revealing even as far as they go. Egypt, Palestine, India and China are the countries in which land utilization has been most extensive. It is so in Japan, Korea and Ceylon as well. Figures for cultivable area are not available for them but judging from the average proportion of cultivated to total area in the case of the other southeast Asian countries land utilization must be extensive in these three countries also. In the case of all these seven countries the reasons for extended cultivation are to be found among those mentioned above. But in Palestine extension is probably due more to deliberate planning of settlements than enforced by unchecked population density, and in Japan, intensive cultivation has also probably proceeded apace with extended cultivation. Furthermore, in Egypt and Iran irrigation has been responsible for much land utilization. But these do not detract from the fact that in the leading agricultural regions of Asia most of the land available for cultivation is being rapidly covered and further utilization should more and more be in the direction of scientific agriculture. Possibilities of utilization by more settlement are mostly confined to some of the countries of western Asia.

In the matter of intensive cultivation Asian agriculture generally

TABLE V
LAND UTILIZATION IN ASIA

Country	I Total Area (000 sq. kms.)	Mean Density (per sq. km.)	2 Cultivable Area (000 sq. kms.)	Percentage of 2 to 1	3 Cultivated Area (000 sq. kms.)	Percentage of 3 to 2	4 Irrigated Area (000 sq. kms.)	Percentage of 4 to 3
<i>A. Western Asia</i>								
Turkey	768	25	300	39.0	87	29.0	4	4.6
Egypt	1,000	17	34	3.4	24	70.7	23	95.8
Iraq	302	12	92	30.5	13	14.1	7	54.0
Syria	188	15	61	31.0	16	26.2	2	12.5
Lebanon	9	125	12	44.4	9	75.0	0.4	4.4
Palestine	27	65	540	33.3	108	20.0	—	—
Iran	1,644	9						
<i>B. Soviet Asia</i>								
Soviet Central Asia	3,993	5	—	—	98	2.5*	55.6	56.1
Soviet East Asia	10,998	1.3	—	—	150	1.4*	—	—
<i>C. India and Southeast Asia</i>								
India	4,096	95	1,853	45.2	1,143	61.6	282	24.6
Ceylon	66	96	—	—	15	22.7*	—	—
Burma	605	28	—	—	64	10.6*	—	—
Siam	518	30	—	—	39	7.5*	—	—
Indo-China	740	32	—	—	55	7.4*	—	—
Indonesia	1,904	38	—	—	92	4.8*	—	—
Malayan Union	136	40	—	—	—	—	—	—
The Philippines	296	55	188	63.0	42	22.3	—	—
<i>D. Eastern Asia</i>								
China	8,755	51	499	5.7	395	79.1	—	—
Japan (Proper)	382	207	—	—	61	16.0*	—	—
Korea	221	110	—	—	45	20.4*	—	—

* Percentage of 3 to 1

LAND UTILIZATION IN WESTERN ASIA

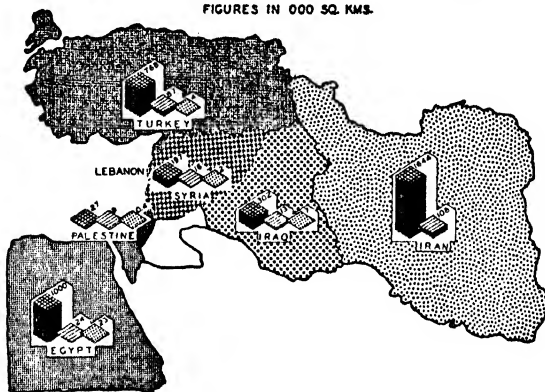
TOTAL AREA

CULTIVATED AREA

IRRIGATED AREA

FIGURES IN 000 SQ. KMS.

MEAN DENSITY
PER SQ. KM.



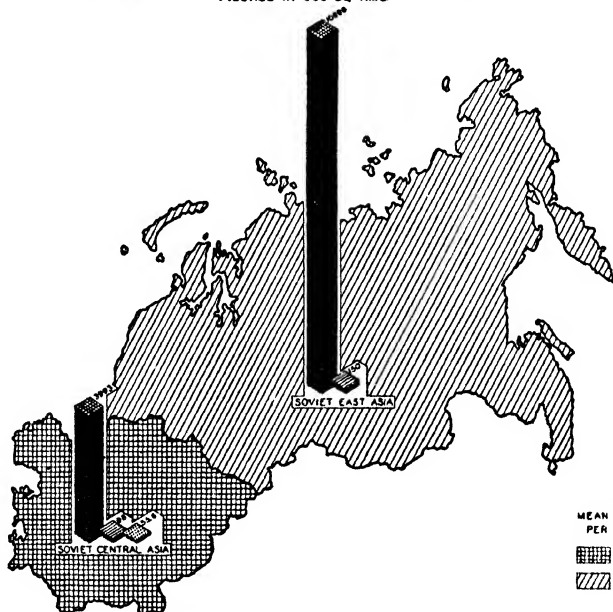
LAND UTILIZATION IN SOVIET ASIA

TOTAL AREA

CULTIVATED AREA

IRRIGATED AREA

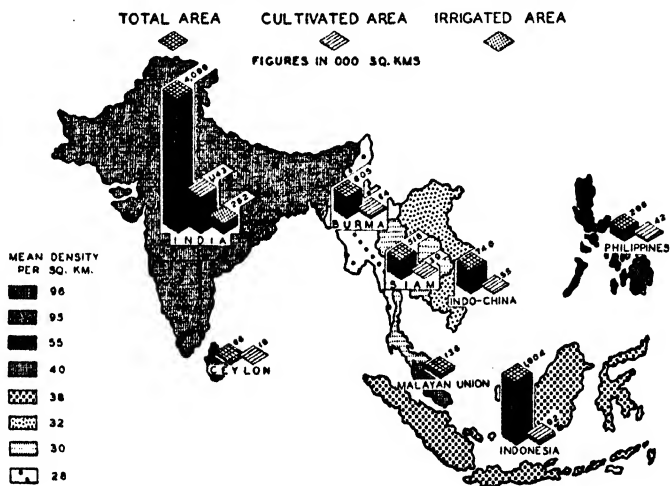
FIGURES IN 000 SQ. KMS.



MEAN DENSITY
PER SQ. KM.



LAND UTILIZATION IN INDIA & SOUTHEAST ASIA



LAND UTILIZATION IN EASTERN ASIA

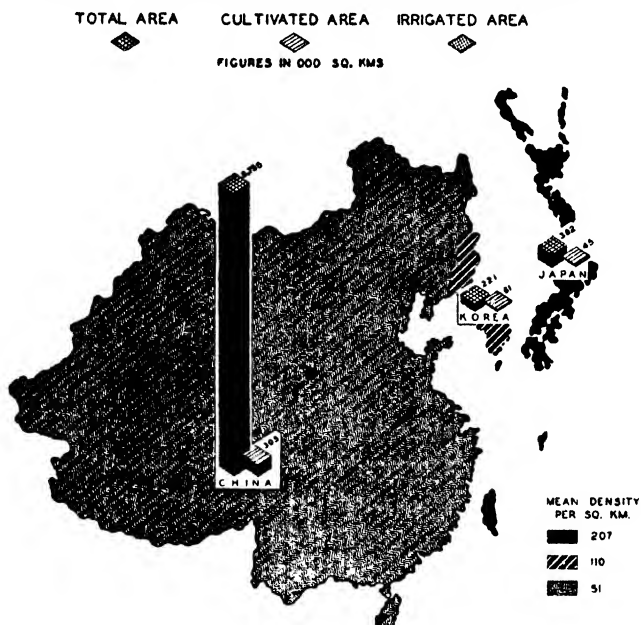


Table VI

AVERAGE YIELD PER ACRE OF CERTAIN CROPS IN SOME
ASIAN COUNTRIES AND IN THE WEST
(In pounds)

Country	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Maize	Cane Sugar	Cotton	Linseed	Tea
China	2,202	990	1,056	1,300	—	162	—	—
India	833	587	806	627	3,312	85	258	469
Japan	3,718	1,590	1,702	1,421	42,560	200	—	1,017
Indonesia	—	—	—	—	107,744	—	—	365
Indo-China	963	—	—	—	20,160	—	—	—
Ceylon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	471
Egypt	2,688	1,657	1,501	1,971	67,872	466	739	—
United States	2,016	649	—	1,254	32,688	216	291	—
Canada	—	649	829	2,061	—	—	—	—
Argentina	—	941	1,232	1,321	21,504	220	649	—
Australia	—	694	963	1,232	38,752	—	—	—
Denmark	—	2,552	2,419	—	—	—	—	—
Italy	4,256	1,411	963	1,613	—	—	448	—

lags behind world agriculture as a whole, except perhaps in Japan and the U. S. S. R. This is not, of course, due to the absence of scientific research in crop culture as such. Technological possibilities have been and are being pursued in China and India for example. But it is due to ineffectiveness in application—the difficulty experienced in making available, and getting the farmer to apply, the results of biological and chemical research to actual cultivation as extensively as the agricultural economy warrants. At the same time, high productivity in certain particular instances is not necessarily an indication of the effectiveness of technology. Certain countries, or regions or crops within a country, may and do have high productivity, but due more to the natural qualities of the particular soils than to what science has been able to achieve on any large scale so far. In a whole continent like Asia even this must obviously have exceptions, where a combination of irrigation and scientific agriculture has been effected to increase productivity. Sugarcane cultivation in Java is an important case in point where the Dutch plant-breeders succeeded in raising its yield more than threefold. And in general, plantation agriculture like the cultivation of rubber, tea and tobacco, has been better able to assimilate the new methods of science. These remarks apply also to the mechanization of agriculture. Indeed in the cultivation of the staple crops mechanization has failed to go even to the extent technology has gone. Table VI seeks to provide a comparative idea of the productivity of land in some Asian and some non-Asian countries.

Next to the facts of land holding and land utilization come those of trade in agricultural products. In staple crops the margin between farming for subsistence and farming for commerce is very narrow in Asia. Rice is Asia's leading foodgrain, and in China and India which are its main growers the trade is mostly internal. These countries have none of it to enter the world market with. In southeast Asia where rice is a commercial crop trade in it is mostly with the neighbouring regions of the continent itself. What applies to rice in these three zones of Asia, applies to wheat in western Asia. Among the commercial crops of Asia as a whole are such produce as sugarcane, oilseeds and certain cereals, products of plantation agriculture like rubber, tobacco, tea, etc., and industrial fibres like cotton, jute, flax and hemp. Silk and wool which are of livestock origin are also to be included. The root problem of commercial agriculture is market organization and price stability. Here again Asian agriculture is more handicapped than world agriculture. Only for the plantation products do producers' organizations exist as a rule to co-ordinate production and demand and to fix prices in some cases. Otherwise the commercial farmer of Asia is entirely

at the mercy of the fluctuating demands of world industry for the raw materials he produces. It has been observed by experts in the past that when the prices of primary products go down the fall is steep but when they begin to recover the rise is slow. As the leading producer of primary products among the continents Asia has naturally to suffer the consequence of this agricultural situation, namely, uncertain and widely fluctuating incomes. These can render whole economies of Asian countries unstable because income from agricultural sources is such an overwhelming proportion of their national income.

WESTERN AND SOVIET ASIA

In common with Syria, Iraq and Transjordan, Turkey has still great room for agricultural settlement. It has been estimated that double the present population can comfortably subsist on the land available for further cultivation. Much of the land is cultivated in small holdings of 8-10 acres. The larger estates are in the cotton-growing south and some of them are as much as 2,000 acres in extent. The labourers work as share croppers on these. Landless peasantry is considerable despite free distribution of about 2 million acres during the past fifteen years. In 1945 a new land reform law was adopted for providing for further distribution of land to the peasantry. Fragmentation of land and rural indebtedness persist as acutely as in any agricultural region of Asia. But the agricultural experimental stations in different parts of the country are demonstrating better methods of plant and animal breeding. The country has recently been divided into four zones each containing about 5,000 villages. The villages collectively employ mechanical appliances for cultivation. There are some 600 to 700 co-operative credit societies furthering agricultural co-operation. Since in recent years cotton is gaining ground over tobacco in the exports of Turkey, the dependence of the peasantry for their money incomes on world cotton prices is becoming more extensive among them.

In Egypt nearly two-thirds the cultivated area is held by peasant proprietors in plots averaging just a single acre in extent. Three-fourths of the rest is cultivated in holdings of up to 5 acres. But the number of estates of 50 acres and over, owned by landlords, account for about 25-30 per cent of all agricultural land. The dependence of Egyptian agriculture on irrigation is complete. Rainfall is almost negligible. Productivity is high, especially for cotton which is Egypt's main commercial crop. 'The improvement of plants by genetical and selection studies has reached its greatest development with cotton, because of the financial

resources available for research from its importance as a cash crop'. Cotton accounts for more than 75 per cent in the value of Egypt's exports and when prices are down the cultivators are said to get no money income except for the barest necessities. The important fact about land utilization in Palestine is the variance between Arab and Jewish agriculture. The Arab system is rotational cropping while the Jewish is highly developed mixed farming on irrigated land. Yields in Arab agriculture are rather low but the Jews in their settlements raise double the Arab yield of wheat. In Iraq lands quite often suffer from over-irrigation owing to an imperfect drainage system, with the result that farmers practise what is described as 'shifting cultivation' by which they keep on moving to fresh areas leaving the over-irrigated one to recover by itself. In Iran about two-thirds of the land is taken up by large estates and the peasant proprietor is in a minority. The tenant's reward for cultivation is generally one-fifth of the produce. A beginning has been made in agricultural education through special schools.

The approximate areas (in thousands of hectares) under four important crops in the various countries of western Asia are tabulated below :

Country	Wheat	Cotton	Barley	Tobacco
Turkey	4,400	300	2,000	70
Egypt	800	350	170	—
Palestine	200	—	180	3
Syria and Lebanon	675	35	350	7
Iraq	800	—	900	12
Iran	1,200	120	500	12

The unique aspect of agriculture in Soviet Asia—in common with the rest of the U.S.S.R.—is collective farming. A collective farm can be as much as a thousand acres in area, but the average area per household on collective farms works out to about 50 acres. Each household in a collective farm receives for its personal use a small plot of land less than 2·5 acres in size and is allowed a limited number of private livestock. The return to the farmer for his labour is a 'corresponding share' of the farm income, payable both in cash and in kind. After making the obligatory deliveries to the State and the machine and tractor stations, and providing for certain purposes like seeds and fodder, the farm produce is divided among the household on the basis of workday units, i.e., according to the amount of work put in by the collective farmers and their families. On the State farms which are directly operated by

the government, farmers work on weekly wages. Mechanization of agriculture is very extensive. In the Central Asian Republics between 50 and 95 per cent of the total sown area is served by the machine tractor stations. Crop distribution in Soviet Central Asia and Soviet East Asia, taken together, is approximately as follows ; wheat, 30 million acres ; oats, 11 million acres ; barley, 3·5 million acres ; rye, 4 million acres ; and other crops, 23 million acres.

INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The cultivated land area in India is divided in good proportion between the three leading systems of land tenure that prevail in the country. About 25 per cent of agricultural land is held by the large estate owners who are permanently settled for the revenue due from them to the State. Over half the remaining area land is held by peasant proprietors paying land revenue direct to the State and not to the estate owners as in the first category. The other half is held under a system of village estates where interest in land as well as payment of revenue is co-shared by the land-owning village communities and assessment is also variable. The peasant proprietorship areas are the provinces of Assam, Bombay, Madras and Sind. The estate owners are largely concentrated in Bengal and Bihar. The United Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces are village estate areas. These three systems, however, are more land *revenue* systems than land *holding* systems, because irrespective of ownership and the systems of tenure, land is actually held by peasant cultivators who in the vast majority of cases work not for a money wage but for a share in the produce and under a tenancy that cannot ordinarily be challenged. The size of such peasant holdings naturally varies between areas but there seems little doubt that nearly two-thirds the extent of agricultural land in India is held in plots of less than 5 acres.

In the matter of land utilization, the scope for extending cultivation by reclaiming land is rather limited in India, but irrigation possibilities are great. Dependence on the monsoon extends to over three-fourths the cultivated area. Yields are low and in the case of the food crops fertility has actually diminished in recent years. Improved seeds are being planted in several regions but in the case of rice which is the staple food over the widest part of the country the area under them has as yet reached only about 6 to 7 per cent of the total area under the crop (in the whole of India). In wheat, however, the area under high-yield seed is as much as one-fifth of the total. It is in the commercial crops

like cotton, jute and sugarcane that better crops are being raised on areas ranging from a quarter to three-fourths their respective cultivated totals. Crop distribution is on an average as follows. The figures are for the whole of India. Rice, 76 million acres ; wheat, 35 million acres ; other cereals and pulses, 73 million acres ; oilseeds, 24 million acres ; cotton, 21 million acres ; jute 3.5 million acres ; and sugarcane, 4 million acres. The attraction that the cultivation of commercial crops like cotton, jute and sugarcane holds out to the farmer has in recent years discouraged crop rotation. Even in years when prices for these products are low the farmers are found to cling on to the money crops in anticipation of a favourable turn in the market. Rural indebtedness used to be very heavy but it has been claimed that during the past few years the cultivators have succeeded in reducing their debts substantially—at least in the peasant proprietorship areas. Co-operative marketing of agricultural produce is still backward in organization and confined to limited areas or crops. The number of all types of marketing societies is, however, gradually increasing and at present there are more than 4,000 societies in the whole of India.

The agricultural economy of southeast Asia is in general dominated both in its plantation and non-plantation parts by the dependence on it of large immigrant communities either as owners or tenant-cultivators or labourers. Before the war much agricultural land in Burma passed to Indian ownership as a consequence of the Indian business community's hold on the agricultural credit of the country. Indian tenants were preferred by Burmese landlords in some places because the former were able to offer higher rents. The average size of holdings in the rice lands of Burma is somewhat larger than in India, particularly in lower Burma. The area under rice is about 12.5 million acres. In Malaya land tenure is based on a licensing system even for the Malays. This has for long discouraged them to extend cultivation over even the irrigated area made available from time to time. When in 1939 Malay agriculture was opened to non-Malays the tenure was again based on temporary leases and on segregation of Chinese holdings. The average size of a holding for Malay farming families is about 4 acres. Irrigation has made appreciable progress but rice cultivation has remained uneconomical owing to the greater attention paid to the problems of rubber plantation. Soil fertility is poor and farmers do not have enough capital. 'In the rush to convert every possible inch of the peninsula into rubber' adequate measures were not adopted against soil erosion. Insect pests also remain largely uncontrolled. The area under rice is about 750,000 acres and under rubber 3.5 million acres. Two-thirds the total area under rubber is held in large estates by European planters and the remaining by Malays,

Indians and Chinese in small holdings of less than a hundred acres each.

The size of holdings in the paddy fields of Siam range from 5 to 20 acres. In Siam the position occupied by the immigrant community—the Chinese—in the agricultural economy is that of brokers in the rice trade. Rice is Siam's commercial crop. The Chinese middlemen 'buy most profitably in the regions that are farthest from the centres of communication. The Siamese farmer's chronic need of money leaves him with no option but to accept what is offered by the dealer, who has frequently bought up the crop before it is sown'. The elimination of the middleman, scientific agriculture and mechanization are reforms with which a beginning has been made, but the latter are still in the experimental stage. Rural debt is also substantial and co-operation is being extended to reduce it. The area under rice is about 9 million acres. In Indo-China land utilization by irrigation is fairly advanced. Canals have been constructed in a network along with dikes for flood control. Two rice crops where only one rose before has been the commonest result of irrigational extension. Agricultural research is mainly confined to producing high-yielding rice strains. Producers' co-operatives have been operating efficiently in warehousing members' paddy and selling it at the best possible terms for them. Besides, 'at one and the same time they distribute the funds placed at their disposal by the credit bureaus and technical information supplied by the experiment stations'. The area under rice in Indo-China is about 14 million acres, and under maize about 750,000 acres. Rubber plantation covers an area of over 300,000 acres. The vast majority of the estates are each between 250 and 2,400 acres in extent.

In Javanese agriculture in Indonesia the holdings are on an average less than 3 acres in size. The small peasant proprietor is still the rule in indigenous cultivation. Landlord estates have sprung up mainly as a result of the trading and banking activities of some of the urban classes—the Chinese and Arabs among them—whose aim 'is not to appropriate land but to have at their disposal the marketable products derived from it'. More than three-quarters of the agricultural area is held in permanent tenure, saleable without restriction. In rice cultivation share-cropping is the prevalent system of owner-cultivator relationship. The area under rice is about 10 million acres. Plantation agriculture covers an area of about 6.5 million acres and the number of estates growing all types of crops is over 2,500. About half these specialize in one product and the rest raise a combination of two or more products. The average size of an estate is about 2,300 acres in Java and 3,000 acres in the outer provinces. In the Philippines, again, the

immigrant Chinese perform the milling and marketing functions in the main rice trade. In the agricultural economy big landowners are very few, small landowners a small number, and the large majority are landless cultivators. In method of cultivation rotation of crops is not found feasible. Irrigation facilities are still inadequate, but scientific agricultural methods are well propagated. The area under rice is about 5 million acres. Agriculture is fairly diversified in the Philippines. There are four important commercial crops raised—coconut, cane sugar, manila hemp and tobacco. The average acreages under these are as follows : coconut, 1.5 million acres ; cane sugar, 750,000 acres ; hemp, 1.3 million acres ; and tobacco, 150,000 acres.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Land in China is held by three classes of farmers, namely, tenant farmers, independent farmers and part-owners. Roughly 55 per cent of all farmers in China are either tenants or part-owners, i.e., those who have to rent land from others on what are relatively high rents. The rest are independent farmers. Such large-scale prevalence of tenant farming is a post-Revolution development and is attributed to ' the invasion of rural society by commercial capital in the form of large-scale purchases of land by merchants, to the pressure of high interest loans and to high rents '. The main system for rent payment is the crop rent by which, as in India, the cultivator makes over a fixed amount of the produce per acre to the landlord. More than half the total cultivated area is thus rented. The other systems are share renting and cash renting. By the former—also as in some parts of India—the cultivator divides the crops raised on his land with the landlord at a fixed ratio. This is, however, a variation of the crop rent system. In the matter of fragmentation of land the situation is again analogous to what obtains in India. Three-fourths the total cultivated area is held by some 60 million households in farms which are less than 5 acres each in extent. Only half a dozen of the northern provinces have what may be called economic holdings. Technological improvements by way of improved seeds, insect control, use of fertilizers and improved animal husbandry are being gradually extended to larger areas, but not more than about 10 million out of a total cultivated area of about 170 million acres have so far come under such extension. But the yield of rice is higher in China than in India. China grows a third more the quantity of rice grown in India on an acreage which is only two-thirds of India's. Irrigation is still to make headway. The existing systems and those projected for the near future together do not probably irrigate more than 3.4 million

acres which is a very small percentage of the total cultivated area. Crop distribution closely follows the consumption needs of the country in foodgrains, and the commercial crops are far less important in the agricultural economy of China than in the other rice regions of Asia. The average areas under the different crops are as follows : rice, 50 million acres ; wheat, 58 million acres ; barley, 16 million acres ; kaoliang, millets, corn and other grains, 70 million acres ; beans and peas, 35 million acres ; cotton, 11 million acres ; oilseeds, 9 million acres ; and potatoes, 5 million acres.

Agricultural credit administration has achieved a notable measure of success in China. There are over 100,000 co-operatives spread over nineteen provinces and serving about 6 million farmers. Societies for production, marketing and crop insurance are another 15,000 in number.

In Japan land is held either in peasant proprietorship or in tenancy or in a combination of both. Approximately a third of the agricultural population are peasant proprietors, a quarter are tenant families and the rest combine both tenures. The size of an average holding is less than 3 acres. Land tax was for a long time on the basis of an assessment arrived at in 1873. But in 1930 rental value became the basis of assessment. Before the war absentee landowners were more than a million in number and they possessed nearly 40 per cent of the cultivable area. The incidence of taxation was high for the landlords. The tax burden for them was more than thrice what the non-landowning classes had to bear. In the matter of land utilization there are absolute limits to extending the area under cultivation in Japan. Only a sixth of the country's total area is arable and it does not seem that this proportion can be increased. Hence land utilization has proceeded in the directions of irrigation and scientific agriculture. Outlay on irrigation is substantial in Japan. In many cases the irrigational service rendered is very thorough. 'If the landowners of the village desire, the government engineers take hold, redesign the whole irrigation system and the layout of the paddies, and rebuild, as it were, the whole cultivated area belonging to the village. Through a system of exchange, the villagers and individual landowners receive in the end consolidated pieces of land, sometimes with financial compensation.' Scientific agriculture is also advanced. In rice cultivation it has been estimated that fertilizers account for more than 15 per cent of the total cost. Double cropping is a widely prevalent practice in Japan. Nearly 40 per cent of the paddy area is double cropped. The areas under the three principal crops are as follows: rice, 7.5 million acres ; barley, 2 million acres ; and wheat, 2 million acres.

The rural debt burden is heavy and before the war it was sought to be reduced by direct farm loans and the creation of several thousand debt adjustment associations all over the country.

4. *Industry*

Industrialization is by far the most important single economic problem of Asia today. In its wider sense industrialization refers not merely to production of goods of various kind with the help of the machine, but to a whole system of social organization of which it is the decisive condition. Industrialization covers the continual extension of a variety of services like road, rail, sea and air transport, water, electricity and communications, (which are all compendiously described as public utilities), and of other services like banking, investment and insurance. Industry of every conceivable type feeds international trade by supplying commodities for exchange, and together, the production and exchange of goods and services 'create wealth' and enhance the aggregate incomes of countries. Therefore the level of 'per capita national income' depends in an overwhelming measure on industrialization. And what is more, as industrialization makes it possible for more people to enjoy more things with less work, leisure and the almost endless creative pursuits it can be applied for, also come within the reach of the ordinary man.

These facts are simple enough. But the supreme fact is that they do not exist in the measure they should for the majority of Asian countries which still remain under-industrialized. Their industrialization is a comparatively recent phenomenon, not extending in earnest beyond the past fifty years. Generally speaking it has been achieved to a large extent, particularly in the initial stages, with Western capital. It was the enormous increase in economic 'wealth' in Europe in the nineteenth century, following the Industrial Revolution, that spurred export of capital to undeveloped Asia. The circumstances in which such investment activity starts have been well described by two experts as follows : 'There must be an accumulation of capital for investment purposes (in Western countries) sufficiently great that its earning power at home is less than can be obtained through foreign investment. When this stage has been reached, there will still be opportunities for domestic

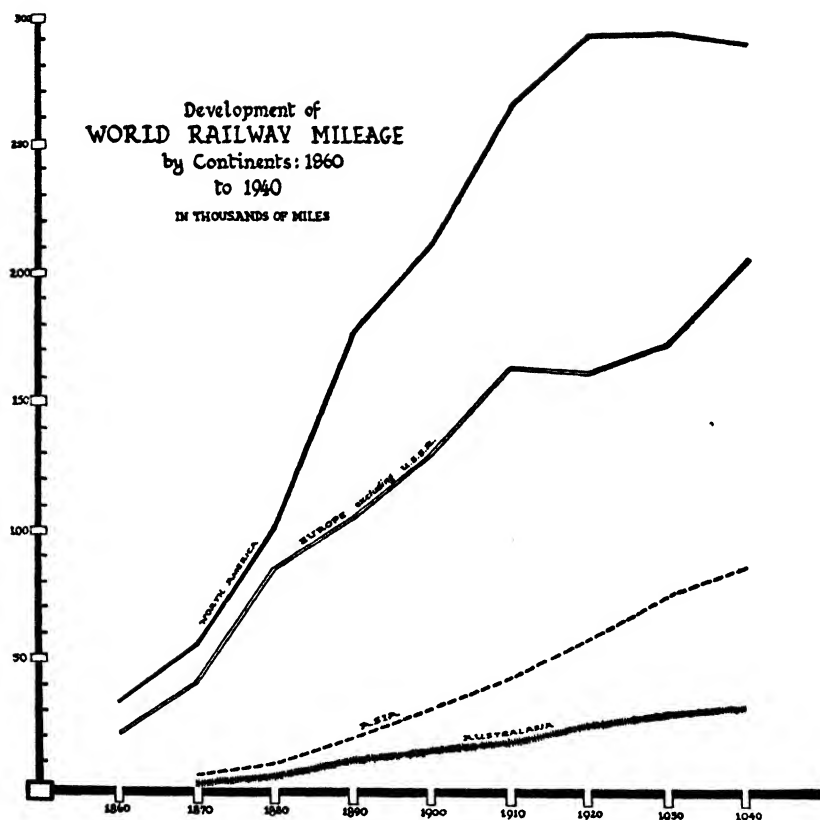
investment, but, since money is plentiful, the interest rate will be generally lower than the anticipated return from investment in foreign enterprises. Then, and usually not until then, will the outflow begin '6. In addition to this attraction of a higher return on investment, foreign capital that came to Asia had other advantages too. In Asian countries generally taxation of incomes was not so high as at home and a few countries even granted partial exemption from taxation to attract capital and enterprise from the West. Examples for the latter are the concessions enjoyed at one time by the Baghdad Railway and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Aside of the attraction of higher yield the two major inducements to foreign investment, however, were access to the sources of raw materials and the possibility of circumventing tariff duties. It was far more advantageous to the American rubber companies, for example, to buy up rubber plantations in southeast Asia and be assured of the supply of the raw material for their industry than depend upon the vagaries of the open market in the primary products. There was an even more important side to this advantage. It was economical for industrialists of the West to establish processing or manufacturing plants at the source of the raw material in an Asian country where the finished product had also an expanding market, rather than to import the raw material to their home country and export the finished product again to Asia. The manufacture of cotton, woollen, silk and jute textiles and the processing of iron, steel and other metals in western Asia, in India and in southeast Asia are examples of such enterprises. Similarly, where Asian countries imposed tariff duties on imports of manufactured articles from abroad, it was naturally advantageous for industries in the West to establish branch plants in Asian countries to complete the final stages of manufacture out here itself rather than have to mount the tariff wall of the concerned country in exporting the full product to it. The assembling of machinery and machine parts and of automobiles are examples of this class of enterprise.

Foreign investment which worked up the economic resources of Asia permeated a variety of channels in quick succession. The first to be developed were the mining and transport industries. Railway transport is perhaps the most important physical aid to industrialization in any country. Railways became indispensable from the very beginning when oil and ores had to be transported from the interior mining areas to the ports. Railway development proceeded apace with the general expansion of industry and with the consequent increase in the volume

6. Walter Sharp and Grayson Kirk, *Contemporary International Politics*, p. 306.

of trade and internal movement of goods. There is thus a two-way relation between railway development and, first, the size of the country or region and, second, the extent of its industrialization. In fact the size-mileage ratio is a reliable index to the degree of industrialization of a country or region. This is sought to be brought out in the two charts on following pages, which show respectively the development of world railway mileage by continents and the railway mileage in the four zones of Asia. Also, Table VII gives the mileage figures. It will be seen that, taken by continents, Asia has only one-third the total mileage of North America for more than one and a half times the latter's size, and less than half of Europe's mileage for nearly three times Europe's size. Taken by countries, China has only one-third of India's mileage for more than India's area, and though Japan's area is just about a fourth of southeast Asia its mileage exceeds that of all countries of southeast Asia put together. These proportions obviously indicate the relative extent of industrialization in Asia as a whole and in the several regions and countries of Asia.

Parallely with the exploitation of mineral resources came investment in the plantation industry in tropical Asia. In the plantation industry there were advantages that the mine owners had not. The proximity of the estates to the coast, the better harbour facilities that existed in the main plantation region from Ceylon to the Philippines, and the less capitalization and technical equipment that the industry called for facilitated ready investment. These enterprises caused a great expansion of export trade from Asia and the export to Asia from the West of a variety of finished articles—producers' and consumers' goods—in payment for the raw materials which the West bought from Asia. Such an expansion of industrial and trade activity caused in turn the growth of a number of specialized economic services like banking and insurance companies, investment trusts and issue houses, and export and import houses. Most often the very entrepreneurs who promoted industries also promoted these services which handled a large part of their own business. The next stage in industrialization was the extension of the public utility industries. Growth of trade and industries resulted in partial urbanization of Asian countries. As towns sprang up in industrial and commercial areas the new class of urban population created a demand for the amenities of urban life like tramway, water, light, gas and telephone services. With the extension of public utility industries necessarily followed a variety of metallurgical and engineering industries. While machinery and rolling stock could be imported the upkeep of public utilities demanded advanced metalcraft and well equipped machine shops. It was in the last and latest stage of industrialization that Asian



countries got manufacturing industry. This last stage itself came in three stages, namely, semi-manufacturing, manufacturing consumption goods and manufacturing production goods. With the sole exception of Japan the adequacy of manufacturing industry in Asian countries heavily drops as one proceeds from semi-manufacturing to manufacturing production goods.

As was already observed the industrialization of Asia taken as a whole (but with the exclusion of Japan) has been achieved to a substantial extent with capital that was foreign to Asia. Estimates of foreign investments in Asian countries have always excited economic investigators, but owing to the very nature of the subject they have hitherto eluded their precision. These investments are usually classified into industrial (including trading and other services) and non-industrial capital, or sometimes into entrepreneur investments and rentier investments. In

RAILWAY MILEAGE FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF ASIA 1945

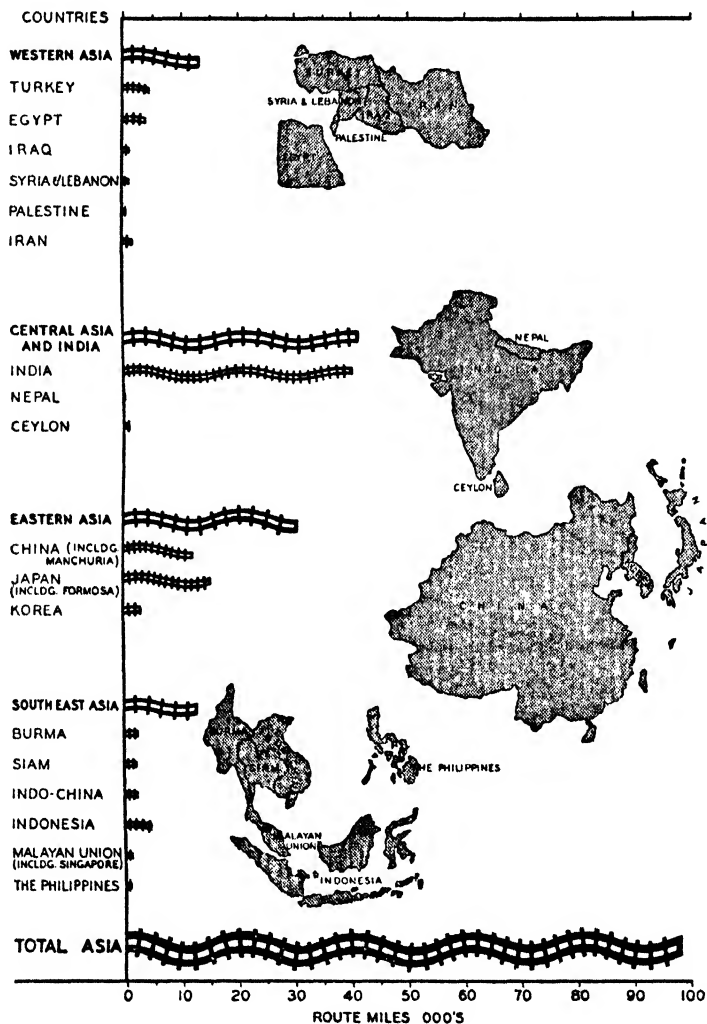


Table VII

RAILWAY MILEAGE FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES
OF ASIA

	Route Miles
A. <i>Western Asia :</i>	13,329
Turkey	4,672
Egypt	4,037
Iraq	1,157
Syria and Lebanon	1,090
Palestine	625
Iran	1,748
B. <i>Central Asia and India :</i>	41,480
India	40,509
Nepal	58
Ceylon	913
C. <i>Eastern Asia :</i>	30,560
China (including Manchuria)	12,139
Japan (including Formosa)	15,254
Korea	3,167
D. <i>Southeast Asia :</i>	12,824
Burma	2,266
Siam	2,037
Indo-China	2,093
Indonesia	4,516
Malayan Union (including Singapore)	1,068
The Philippines	844
<i>Total Asia :</i>	98,193

the first case industrial investment refers to the capital of private or public companies and non-industrial investment refers to finance like loans and debentures raised by governments or local authorities. In the second case, by entrepreneur investment is meant investment of capital in enterprises by those who actually run them—‘business men acting as business men’, and by rentier investment is meant investment of capital by people who are unconcerned with the running of the enterprise but only want an interest or dividend on their investment—‘investors acting as investors’. However, judged by conditions of capital that actually prevail in the industrial economies of Asian countries these distinctions mean little. Thus a government or municipality may raise loans in European money markets and invest them on public utilities or other industries, or public works which give a fillip to industries, in its territories in which case there is *more* foreign capital in industry than is strictly apparent. Or among the rentiers of foreign companies may be large numbers of the indigenous investors in which case there is *less* foreign capital in industry than seems obvious. It is also difficult to draw the line between industrial and commercial capital. It is therefore rarely possible to estimate foreign capital in industry alone. Below are given a few tables compiled from various sources to convey a relative idea of foreign capital of several kinds invested in some countries of Asia. All figures refer to the capital position in the decade preceding World War II and are only approximate.

Western Asia ⁷

(Business investments only)

	Amount £ thousand
Turkey	63,414
Egypt	79,345
Palestine	7,291

India ⁸

Type of investment	Amount £ million	Percentage of total
Government loans	434	52.3
Loans by local authorities and port trusts	9	1.1
Public corporations	287	34.6
Private companies	100	12.0
Total	830	100.0

*Southeast Asia*⁹

(Amount in million U. S. Dollars)

Country	Total	Entre-preneur	Per cent	Rentier	Per cent
Burma	233	225	96.6	8	3.4
Malaya	455	372	81.8	83	18.2
Siam	124	90	72.6	34	27.4
Indo-China	384	302	78.6	82	21.4
Indonesia	2,264	1,411	62.3	853	37.7
The Philippines	376	315	83.8	61	16.2
Total	3,836	2,715	70.8	1,121	29.2

*China*¹⁰

(Business investments only)

	Amount £ million	Percentage of total
British	198	48
American	32	8
Japanese	183	44
Total	413	100

The figures in the above tables have been worked out by experts, after sifting a large volume of evidence and through scientific methods. Though the figures do not depict the latest situation with regard to foreign capital in Asia, they are of great value in viewing the industrial development of Asia that was already an accomplished fact by 1939. The extent of foreign capital is actually much more than the tables would suggest.

7. For Turkey and Egypt from Alfred Bonne, *The Economic Development of the Middle East*; for Palestine from J.B. Hobman, *Palestine's Economic Future*.

8. From the estimate by Prof. B.R. Shenoy in *The Sterling Assets of the Reserve Bank of India*, (Indian Council of World Affairs).

9. Estimate by Helmut Callis in *Foreign Capital in Southeast Asia*, (Institute of Pacific Relations).

10. From E.M. Gull, *British Economic Interests in the Far East*, (Royal Institute of International Affairs), quoting Prof. Remer's *Foreign Investments in China*.

In the case of India, for example, the estimate excludes certain categories of corporation finance ; in the case of the southeast Asian countries Chinese capital is excluded, and this is substantial ; and in the case of China the whole gamut of governmental indebtedness is left out and most of the foreign loans to China were ' reconstruction ' loans which spurred China's industrial development. However, the fact that industry in Asian countries was initiated and developed to an advanced stage by foreign capital, and that comparable estimates of local capital exist for hardly any of the Asian countries, must not obscure the part played by indigenous enterprise in the industrial evolution of Asia. But assimilation of indigenous capital in the industrial economy was a slow process, and with the possible exception of Turkey, India and the Philippines it does not seem that indigenous enterprise has levelled up with foreign investments in any major industrial region of Asia. Indigenous capital came, to begin with, generally from the local landowning classes. It was not manufacturing industry that it entered first, either as entrepreneur or rentier investment but mostly trading and other economic services. And with the capital accumulation that resulted from this initial investment local enterprise started on manufacturing industry. But even here confidence expressed itself first in rentier investment and only next in entrepreneur investment.

Foreign capital is but the first of the cardinal facts in the industrialization of Asia. There are many others to express the special problems of ' backward ' industry. Some of these problems are internal and relate to the structure and organization of industry—to such aspects as the role of the company promoters, working methods, integration of firms and application of science and technology. Others are external like the tariff. With the exception of Japan which did not have to depend upon Western capital and enterprise for its industrialization, the countries of Asia have undergone common experiences in these problems. In the dependent territories of Asia, i.e., in India and the countries of southeast Asia, much of the early industrial enterprise went to the nationals of their respective ruling countries—the British in India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya, the French in Indo-China, the Dutch in Indonesia and the Americans in the Philippines. In China and the countries of western Asia the nationals of these Western countries and of other European countries like Germany and Switzerland shared the early industrial enterprise as concessionaires. Naturally they brought with them to Asia differing techniques of industrial promotion, management and organization. In organization and methods modern large-scale industry in Asia still has its foundation in the business system that the foreign promoters evolved here. The Managing Agency system in India is an

instance in point. It was frequently possible for the same group of promoters to invest in a variety of industries. An extreme example of this could be found in Chinese industry where Japan played the same part as the Western entrepreneurs. The South Manchurian Railway Company whose capital was jointly held by the Japanese government and private investors started more than seventy corporate enterprises most of which operated in China. To a certain extent this facilitated the integration that was required for industries in the countries of Asia to successfully compete with European and American industry in the Asian as well as world market. On the other hand such integration seemed a handicap to indigenous enterprise which naturally found difficulty in mobilizing commensurate resources and quite often failed to get the support of even the internal market for its goods and services. Excepting India and perhaps one or two other countries like Turkey, indigenous enterprise in Asian countries is still mostly small-size with its deterrent effect on the improvement of working methods like increasing the mechanical equipment per worker, reducing the number of processes, diversifying production, replacing obsolescent plant and directly organizing marketing—in short on all those aspects of modern industry which are comprehensively connoted by the term 'industrial efficiency'. A serious, though the least perceived, fact of the industrialization of Asia is the poor assimilation of scientific research—of technological innovation—by industry with a view to its serving social needs. Industrial research is as yet making a beginning even in the bigger industrial regions like India and China. Nevertheless, newer technological possibilities are being made available to industry during the past few years—possibilities within the existing structure and organization of industry. But the time-lag between the advance of industrial research and industry's ability to adopt the results of research is far greater in the countries of Asia than in Western industry.

However much Asian industry might make readjustments internally its ability to attain full stature depends, in the present conditions of world economic development, upon its relations with world industry. It is the competitive power of Asian industry—as of the industry of any other continent—in the international market that determines its strength. The internal problems that arise in the attainment of this power were mentioned above and among the external problems the tariff has occupied the leading place. The place of the tariff in the economy of a country is inevitably controversial, but it is now generally recognized that sometimes by commission and sometimes by omission tariff policies have handicapped the industrialization of Asia. Where tariff protection was necessary to help indigenous enterprise to build upon a relatively stable

market for its products it was not forthcoming ; and where tariff duties were not desirable against certain countries or articles in the interests of the requirements of indigenous industry they were levied because articles from certain countries had to be 'preferred' to articles from others. Examples to these are the colonial tariff policies of Western powers in southeast Asia, imperial preference in India and the 'open-door' policy in China.

WESTERN AND SOVIET ASIA

Under a system of state socialism ('etatism') Turkey has been pursuing a policy of developing local industry with the clear object of reducing the country's dependence on imports. In 1922 there were hardly 17,000 industrial workers. They were employed in the railway, mining and public utility enterprises which were run mostly by foreign companies. By 1933 their number had increased to 62,000 and under the two successive five-year plans since then, industrial employment has mounted to more than 300,000. Foreign credits coupled with taxation and compulsory saving in the form of a lower standard of living helped Turkey to launch a five-year plan in 1933 under which the country concentrated on the manufacture of consumers' goods. The industries that were started then were textiles, sugar, paper, cellulose, ceramics, glass and cement. Between 1931 and 1938 the number of spindles in the cotton textile mills of Turkey rose from 72,000 to 189,000, Adana is the chief centre of textile production and the output is over 5 million yards a year. In 1939 the iron and steel factory at Karabuk, described as 'the first real guarantee of Turkey's economic independence', began production. The factory has an annual production of about 220,000 tons of pig iron, 172,000 tons of steel and 150,000 tons of rolled steel products.

The State is the principal director of industry in Turkey. In the matter of industrial research the Institute of Mining Study and Research is of great importance.

Palestine has made good progress in recent years in the establishment of a varied range of industries. Among the consumers' goods produced are textiles, rubber and leatherware, cement, motor vehicle spare parts and glass. The production of sheet metal workings and chemical fertilizers has made rapid progress since 1942. Industrialization has been largely the achievement of private enterprise with some protection from the government. It is, of course, the Jewish sector that contains the majority of industrial establishments and wage levels here approach

standards in Western industry. Similar standards have been reached in industrial research and its application to manufacturing processes, particularly in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries.

Iran among the other countries of western Asia is industrialized to a marked degree. Apart from oil mining which is the country's biggest industry, manufacturing now comprises iron and steel, textiles, sugar, cement, match, leather, glass, soap, pharmaceuticals, paper and cigarettes. Iran produces beet sugar to the extent of about a third of its consumption requirements. There are 8 sugar factories in the country with a total annual output of about 24,000 tons of sugar. Vegetable oil extraction is a large-scale industry in Iran and about 3,550 tons of oil are produced annually. In addition to cotton, woollen and silk textiles Iran produces the famed carpets which enjoy a flourishing export market. The Government is directly interested in the carpet industry and insists on certain standards for the product before allowing its export. Weaving schools instruct the newer generations in the traditional methods of carpet manufacture. Some munition plants and an aeroplane assembly plant were added during the war years. The cement factory at Rey has a daily output of about 3,000 tons. There are 7 large tanning factories, 3 big glass factories and a dozen soap factories. Tehran is the principal industrial centre.

Industry in Soviet Asia made phenomenal progress under the two five-year plans. In fact the most notable transformation in production under the plans took place in the Asian republics. In every one of the republics industrial production more than trebled itself. On the eve of World War II the value of industrial production was approximately as follows : Azerbaijan, 2,400 million roubles ; Uzbekistan, 1,700 million roubles ; Kazakhstan, 1,000 million roubles ; Turkmenistan, 300 million roubles ; and Tadjikistan and Kirghizia, 200 million roubles each. Textile, engineering and metal industries have found special development in Soviet Central Asia though not to the same extent as in the European part of the Union. Apart from oil refining which is its chief industry Azerbaijan produces chemical fertilizers and has erected large engineering plants. In Uzbekistan cotton textile mills have been greatly extended and their equipment modernized. Heavy industries are particularly well developed in Uzbekistan. Its steel mills and machine construction plants supply producers' goods and armaments. Tadjikistan produces a wide range of consumers' goods like textile yarn and fabrics, leatherware, vegetable oil and canned fruit. Kazakhstan and Kirghizia similarly specialize in consumers' goods as also in sugar refining, meat packing and tobacco curing.

INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Manufacturing industry took long strides in India since World War I and received a substantial fillip during World War II though neither was commensurate with the size of the country, its population and resources. Indian industry falls into three main groups—mining, plantation and manufacturing. In a fourth come the small-scale and cottage industries. In terms of consumers' and producers' goods India has now a good range of the former industries and in recent years has made a start on the latter. The mines, the plantations, jute manufactures and engineering were among the chief enterprises that were originally financed and developed by British capital and the manufacturing industries like textiles, iron and steel, metalware, soap and chemicals, cement, sugar, paper, glass, leather, match, tobacco, and mills and presses for various products have developed with predominantly Indian capital during the past two decades. Subsequent to World War II the capital situation in Indian industry as a whole is swiftly moving in favour of Indian investors and entrepreneurs. Foreign enterprise in Indian industry has been practically synonymous with British enterprise. The important non-British establishments are to be found in the match and shoe industries and in automobile assembling.

The total number employed in all kinds of large factories in British India alone is about 3 million. The mines employ another half a million. Among the manufacturing industries the cotton textile industry employs the largest numbers—about a fifth of the total, and in the mining industry more than 80 per cent of the workers are in the collieries and iron ore mines. In mining, coal and iron ore occupy the leading place and next come manganese, mica, copper and gold. Among manufacturing industries the leading place is taken by cotton textiles and iron and steel. Both are developed predominantly by Indian capital and enterprise. With over 400 mills in the whole of India the former, particularly, is overwhelmingly Indian in both investment and management. Of the other textile industries—jute, woollen and silk—jute manufactures are the most important. Originally developed with Scottish capital, the major share in investment as well as management in jute mills, which number more than 110, has now passed into Indian hands. Of the other manufacturing industries the major ones are those producing heavy chemicals, paper, cement, sugar, match, glass, soap, leather goods, and tobacco products. Outside of these come the plantation industries the most important of which are those handling tea, coffee and rubber. The engineering industry has made considerable progress but in shipbuilding

the capacity is as yet very low, and automobile and aircraft assembling are still in the pioneering stage.

Small-scale and cottage industries occupy a large and essential part in India's industrial economy. Scattered all over India's small towns and villages, these industries provide employment to five times as many workers as the larger establishments in industrial centres. In the small-scale and cottage sector too the chief enterprise is production of cotton textiles. These are conveniently described as 'handloom' products, though actually in a number of bigger towns served by electricity looms are run by power. Handloom production of cloth is on an average one-third the mill output. Woollen and silk textiles are also manufactured in small establishments and village homes. The other small-scale and handicraft industries are metal works, tanning, pottery, brick and tile works, wood works, implements and cutlery.

Since 1924 tariff protection, though considered halting and inadequate, had played a part in the country's industrial economy. Among the industries that have so far been the recipients of protection on the basis of recommendations from successive tariff boards the important are steel, cotton textiles, sugar, paper, match, and heavy chemicals. Tariff protection to a further range of industries that established themselves during the war is now being recommended.

Industrial research and the application of its results to processes have received systematic attention for hardly a decade now. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the research laboratories in different centres of India for some commodities like cotton, jute, lac and sugar have covered valuable ground, but the real work in the field of achieving scientific efficiency for Indian industry has just started in the establishment of national laboratories for physical, chemical, metallurgical and fuel research.

Burma's industrial workers number about 95,000 and the number of industrial establishments is more than a thousand. Petroleum mining and refining engage a quarter of the total number of workers. The only other major industry in Burma is rice milling. Saw milling comes next and a few small establishments produce consumers' goods like cotton textiles, knitwear, leather goods, rubber, matches and cigars. Indian owned factories are more in number but those run by British enterprise are larger in size. Before the war British enterprise owned about one-seventh the total number of factories but employed half the number of industrial workers. The bigger rice mills located in the port

towns are British operated and the smaller mills in the interior are in Indian, Chinese and Burmese hands. Saw milling employs about 13,000 workers and cotton textile establishments about 3,000 to 4,000. Cement manufacture has made a good beginning and the present output exceeds 60,000 tons per annum. Burma is well known for its handicraft industries ; lacquer work among these engages the largest number—about 70,000. Silk weaving comes next and some 50,000 persons are engaged in it. Cigar manufacture is both a factory and a home industry and employs about 25,000 workers.

The leading industry of Malaya is tin mining and smelting. Crude tin goes to Penang and Singapore where the smelters are located. These smelters handle tin not only of the Malayan mines but tin from Siam, Burma and Indo-China. Tin mining and smelting are largely in European hands whose capital investment in the industry before the war was estimated at about £15 million. The mining of iron and manganese ores in Malaya owes much to Japanese enterprise and Chinese labour. There is hardly any manufacturing industry, though a beginning was made with paper manufacture during the war. Saw milling is a large-scale enterprise in Malaya, but the industry for which the country is well known is pineapple canning. Control in the canning industry vests largely in the Chinese and the industry has since 1939 voluntarily adopted various measures of rationalization.

As in Burma and Malaya, mining is the first industry of Indo-China. The coal, tin and zinc mines are operated by four or five French companies. There are more than 50,000 employees in the coal industry alone. Of the non-mining industries the important are rice milling, manufacture of cement and cotton textiles. The Chinese own and operate the bigger rice mills and hardly four or five mills are run by the French. These large mills are located in the Saigon-Cholon area and handle the rice that comes up for export. The smaller mills are in indigenous hands and mill rice for domestic consumption. Cement production is a French enterprise. The main factory at Haiphong is well equipped with modern plant and has an output capacity of 300,000 tons a year. About 5,000 workers are employed in this and its subsidiary industries. The textile industry is also French and the total number of looms is about 85,000 engaging about 10,000 workers. Manufacturing industry in Indo-China also includes two paper mills in Tongking with a total output capacity of 3,500 tons a year. Cottage industries in Indo-China are estimated to support more than a million people. With a system of village specialization Indo-China produces a variety of handicraft products from silk to ropes and twines. In Siam, again, apart from the tin

mines, the large-scale industries developed on modern lines have been the rice mills and the saw mills. Rice milling for export is in Chinese hands here too. Tin mines are about a hundred in number and are chiefly either British or Australian owned. Though the exploitation of teak forests is a European enterprise (British, Danish and French), the Chinese have a good share in saw milling. Since 1932 the Siamese government, under a programme of industrialization has been operating its own rice mills and has undertaken financing and management of new factories in the sugar, paper and silk industries. The control over foreign enterprises has been more rigorous in recent years. The handicraft industries are also receiving government assistance.

Dutch capital and Chinese labour run the petroleum and tin industries in Indonesia. More than the mining of petroleum the refining industry is more important in Indonesia than elsewhere in southeast Asia. On an average about 75 per cent of the oil pumped from the wells is processed to a high grade in the country itself before being exported. The refineries are highly mechanized. Next to mining come the factories handling various agricultural products. These number more than 2,500 and the chief products handled are rice, cane sugar, tea, coffee, rubber, tapioca and kapok. The sugar mills are the most important in this group though rice mills are the more numerous. Sugar factories are mostly Dutch in ownership and management. They have an output capacity of nearly 3 million tons per annum though actual production has been only half that quantity for a number of years now. Sugar mills are about a hundred. The financing and management of other industrial establishments, including rice mills, are largely in Chinese hands. Western capital is substantial in the bigger plantation industries. There are about 2.5 million workers employed in manufacturing industry in Indonesia. The electrification of industries has made steady progress and the industrial load accounts for more than 40 per cent of the total output of power. Small-scale industry in Indonesia produces a variety of products and employs more than 1.5 million full-time workers. Chief among its products are textiles, articles of food, drink and tobacco, and wood and metal work.

Until about fifteen years ago the mining industry in the Philippines was confined largely to gold mining, but with the participation of Japanese enterprise in Philippine industry the Islands came to have iron, manganese, copper and chromite mining. This participation had to be indirect, however, because of legal restrictions on the exploitation of the Philippine resources by aliens. The methods adopted were the formation of Filipino-American companies and signing contracts with Filipino agents,

The gold mining industry employs about 25,000 workers and the level of wages is higher than the average in other industries. As in the case of Indonesia the large-scale non-mining industries in the Philippines are engaged in processing agricultural products and the leading one among them is the manufacture of sugar. But unlike as in Java where this industry is in the hands of foreigners, the Filipinos share nearly half the capital invested in the sugar industry of the Philippines. Non-indigenous capital is divided between the Americans and the Spaniards. The number of sugar factories in the Islands is about 46 with a crushing capacity of more than 13 million tons of cane. Coconut oil plants come next in importance. There are about 8 large plants producing oil for exports and 10 smaller ones catering to domestic needs. Cigar manufacture gives employment to more than 15,000 people and is predominantly a Spanish enterprise.

CHINA AND JAPAN

Chinese industry is now in part state owned and operated, and in part privately owned. The former industries have expanded considerably during the past decade when owing to the exigencies of war the Government undertook various kinds of industrial enterprise. The state industries of China are planned and managed by the National Resources Commission. The Commission has departments for industry, mining, power development and research. The Commission's primary object during the war was the development of heavy industry, but its activities include the planning of, and assistance to, private industry as well. In addition to the industrial enterprise of the National Resources Commission the provincial governments have also started various industries which produce mostly consumers' goods and are managed by development corporations. The Commission and the provincial corporations now run well over a hundred large factories each. The Commission operates about 20 power plants, 8 iron and steel works, 2 copper refineries and a large plant for manufacturing machinery. Both the metallurgical and machine industries are, however, still young. The fourth important enterprise of the National Resources Commission is the chemical industry producing mainly alcohol, oils, acids and soda ash. The capacity of the alcohol producing plant exceeds 3 million gallons per annum and of the acid manufacturing plant exceeds four tons a day.

The number of factories in Chinese private industry is over 2,000. Most of them are concentrated in Chungking, Szechwan, Hunan, Shensi and Kwangsi. A good part of this concentration is, of course, due to

wartime relocation of plant in the interior. The three largest groups of industries run by private enterprise in China are those producing light machinery, textiles and various other consumers' goods. Among the last are pottery, paper, cement, leatherware, match, pharmaceuticals and soap. Together these account for more than 75 per cent of the number of private factory establishments in China. In common with India and Japan textiles are the leading products of Chinese manufacturing industry. Of the rest the important are the metallurgical, electrical and food industries.

Industrial Co-operatives are playing a helpful part in the industrial economy of China in recent years. There are about 2,000 of them with a total membership of over 25,000. Their principal aim is the building up of light industries and extending financial and marketing aid to them.

Japan is admittedly the most industrialized of all Asian countries. Alike in size and diversification, Japanese industry has rivalled the success which is generally associated with Western industry. The significant fact in the industrialization of Japan is that it has been achieved in an essentially agrarian society and without prejudice to the small industries and handicrafts. In spite of a high degree of self-sufficiency in producers' goods, textiles are still the leading manufacturing industry in Japan engaging more than a third of the working population. The mining, metallurgical, machinery, machine tool, shipbuilding and vehicle industries together employ another third of the total number of factory hands. The other consumers' goods industries like paper, wood and food come last. Outside of these is the chemical industry which provides about 12-14 per cent of the country's industrial employment.

The Japanese textile industry differs from the Indian and the Chinese in composition in that the proportion of silk and rayon manufacturing to cotton textile production is far larger in Japan. During certain periods nearly half the textile workers have been employed mainly in silk and rayon establishments.

Though in size and achievement Japanese industry is nearly on a par — as was said above — with Western industry, in structure and organization there are some fundamental differences. The concentration of enterprise under the *Zaibatsu* before the War has parallels in Western industry, but the technical efficiency of Japanese industry is born of circumstances which in other Asian countries are handicaps. 'In Japan capital is relatively scarce and dear, while industrial labour is relatively plentiful and cheap. So entrepreneurs find it profitable to keep their

investments in fixed capital goods as low as possible and, where technical conditions permit, to choose processes which require a high production of labour'. Where the economies of large-scale operation are obvious as in the iron and steel, chemical and heavy machinery industry as well as in the export industries like textiles, Japan has adopted Western standards for the size of the firm, but in the production of a large number of consumers' goods Japan has achieved efficiency by synthesising the production of small-scale and even domestic establishments which handle the product at various stages of manufacture under the control and supervision of the bigger units.

TABLE OF EQUIVALENTS

1 sq. mile equals 2.59 kilometre

1 sq. mile equals 640 acres

1 sq. kilometre equals 100 hectares

100 hectares equal 247 acres

1 quintal equals 224 lb.

10 quintals equal 1 long ton

1 metric ton equals 2204.6 lb.

1 bale equals 400 lb.

1 bale equals 1.8 quintals

